आयुर्वेद में दार्शनिक तत्व

लेखक—

विद्यावाचस्पति प्रोफेसर

पण्डित देवराजजी

प्रकाशक—

वैद्य बांकेलाल गुप्त

सम्पादक धन्वन्तरि

धन्वन्तरि ग्रन्थावली २४

श्रीधन्वन्तरये नमः

आयुर्वेद में ....

.... दार्शनिक तत्व

लेखक—

श्रीमान् पं० देवराज जी विद्या वाचस्पति

विश्व विद्यालय गुरुकुल काङ्गड़ी

प्रकाशक—

वैद्य भास्कर बांकेलाल गुप्त सम्पादक धन्वन्तरि

श्रीधन्वन्तरि औषधालय विजयगढ़ (अलीगढ़)

प्रथमबार } सन् १९२७ { मूल्य ।)
५०० प्रति }

धन्वन्तरि प्रेस विजयगढ़ में मुद्रित

भूमिका

वर्तमान आयुर्वेदीय हिन्दी साहित्य में वैज्ञानिक और दार्शनिक पुस्तकों का नितांत अभाव है तथा वैद्यों को और वैद्यक पाठशालाओं के अध्यापकों का ऐसे साहित्य के पढ़ने और पढ़ाने का ध्यान भी नहीं है ऐसी अवस्था में गुरुकुल कांगड़ी के साहित्य परिषद् ने अपने अधिवेशन में आयुर्वेद में दार्शनिक तत्व विषय चुन वैद्य समाज एवं आयुर्वेदीय साहित्य का बड़ा उपकार किया है। यह निबंध पं० देवराज जी विद्या वाचस्पति द्वारा गुरुकुलीय साहित्य परिषद् में पढ़ा गया और उपस्थित जनता द्वारा प्रशंसित हुआ तथा धन्वन्तरि में क्रमश प्रकाशित हुआ और पाठकों ने बड़ा पसन्द किया इस से ही उत्साहित होकर हमने इसे पुस्तकाकार प्रकाशित किया है आशा है कि पाठक इसे अपना लेखक के श्रम को सफल करेंगे।

—प्रकाशक

विषय सूची

आयुर्वेद मे दार्शनिक तत्व की

आवश्यकता

ह ऐसा विषय है कि जिसकी ओर हमारे सुयोग्य वैद्यों को विशेष ध्यान देना चाहिए। इस विषय को बिलकुल उपेक्षा की दृष्टि से देखा जारहा है। बहुत से वैद्यों का यही मन्तव्य है कि आयुर्वेद प्राचीन चिकित्सा पद्धति (Ancient syestum of medicine) है। चिकित्सा के लिए दार्शनिक तत्वकी आवश्यकता नहीं है अतः आयुर्वेदका दार्शनिक तत्व सेकोई सम्बन्ध नहीं है। विभिन्न रोगों में बारबार प्रयोग करके चिरकाल से निश्चित[illegible] औषधों से

रोगियों की चिकित्सा हो ही जाती है फिर दार्श-
निक तत्व का आयुर्वेद से कोई संबन्ध हो भी तो
भी अब इस विचार की कुछ आवश्यकता नहीं है।
इस प्रकार का विचार थोड़ा नहीं किंतु अत्यधिक
मात्रा में नवीन वैद्योंमें फैल रहा है और वे अनुभूत
प्रयोगों से अपना कार्य चला रहे हैं। इन वैद्यों का
प्रयत्न आयुर्वेदका आश्रय लेकर अपनी आजीविका
मात्र सिद्ध करना है। इस प्रकार के वैद्यों से आयु-
र्वेद रक्षा की आशा करना व्यर्थ है। किसी भी
विज्ञान के आधार में कुछ स्थिर सृष्टि नियम होते
हैं। यदि विज्ञान वेत्ता उन सृष्टि नियमों को भुला
दें वा उनकी ओर ध्यान देना छोड़दें और उननियमों
के आधार पर सिद्ध किये हुए प्रयोगों सेही अपना
व्यावहारिक कार्य चलाने लगेंतो आप निश्चय जानि
ये कि वह विज्ञान उन्नति तो होगा ही नहीं स्थिर

भी नहीं रहेगा और उसकी मृत्यु होजावेगी । जो विद्वान् नियमों को जानकर उनका नाना विधि प्रयोग करना जानते हैं वे वैज्ञानिक होते हैं विज्ञान की उन्नति कर सकते हैं। जो बने बन ये यन्त्रों से कार्य लेना मात्र जानतेहैं वे वैज्ञानिक नहीं कहलाते अमेरिका का एडिसन आज कल के संसारमें एक महान् वैज्ञानिक है। वह भौतिक विज्ञान के सूक्ष्म नियमों को जानता है उसने शब्द के नियमों के आधार पर ग्रामोफोन यन्त्र का आविष्कार किया। अन्य लोग जो ग्रामोफोन यन्त्र को बेचते हैं वा उस यंत्र से गीत सुनकर मनो बिनोद करते हैं, अपने मानसिक कष्ट को दूर करते हैं वे वैज्ञानिक नहीं कहलाते। रेलगाड़ी के एञ्जिन का आविष्कारक जिसने डेगची में खौलते हुए पानी की भाप से उछलते हुए ढक्कन को देखकर जलकी भाप के वश

के नियम को जान कर एंजिन का अविष्कार किया वह वैज्ञानिक था। अन्य लोग जो इञ्जिन चलाते हैं या उसे सुधारते हैं और भाप के बल के नियम को जानते हैं वे विज्ञानिक नहीं कहलाते, वे तो अपनी आजीविका के लिए वृत्ति करते हैं। यदि विज्ञान क्षेत्र में अविष्कार करने वाले क्षेत्र के भौतिक नियमों का पता लगाकर उनका उपयोग दिखाने वाले तत्ववेत्ता वैज्ञानिक मंद होजावें तो स्पष्ट है कि संसार की गति मंद हो जावेगी। समय २ के अनुसार मनुष्यों की आवश्यकताओं के अनुकूल प्रकृति के भौतिक नियमों का प्रकाश जब बन्द हो जावेगा तो आप समझ सकते हैं कि अज्ञानान्धकार में प्रगति नहीं होसकेगी। ठीक इसी प्रकार हमारे आयुर्वेद विज्ञान की दशा है। प्राचीन ऋषि मुनियों ने आयुर्वेद के वैज्ञानिक स्वरूप का

प्रकाश करनेके लिए इसके दार्शनिकतत्व का आवि-ष्कार कियाथा। यदि वे चरक सुश्रुत आदि ग्रन्थोंमें दार्शनिकतत्व का आविष्कार नकरते तो आज आयुर्वेद का जो कुछ महत्व प्रकट है वह उसके दार्शनिकतत्व के आधार परही है। जैसे भौतिक विज्ञान सम्बन्धी नियमों का आविष्कार करके विद्वान पुरुष जगत् में वैज्ञानिक कहाते हैं, इसीप्रकार आयुर्वेदके दार्शनिक तत्वको आधार में रख कर जो विद्वान् द्रव्य गुण विज्ञान, रोग परीक्षा चिकित्सा और स्वास्थ्य रक्षा केनियमोंका आविष्कार करतेहैं वे आयुर्वेदज्ञ कहला सकते हैं जो भिन्न २ रोगों की चिकित्सा के लिए निर्धारितद्रव्योंका प्रयोग करतेहैं या उन्हें बेचते हैंवे आयुर्वेदज्ञ कहलाने के अधिकारी नहीं हैं वे द्रव्य विक्रेता या आयुर्वेदोपजीवी हैं। आजकल आयुर्वेद में वर्तमान दार्शनिक तत्व की ओर से वैद्यों का

ध्यान हटता जारहा है। द्रव्यविक्रेता तथा प्रयोग निर्माता का कार्य्य सम्हाल कर वैद्य अपनी आजीविका चलाकर अपने को कृतकृत्य समझने लगे है। जैसे आविष्कारक वैज्ञानिकोंके अभावसे विज्ञान की गति रुद्ध होजाती है इसी प्रकार आयुर्वेद के दार्शनिक तत्व मे गति रखने वाले विद्वानों के अभावसे आयुर्वेद की गति रुद्ध हो रही है और रुद्ध हो जावेगी। इस समय दार्शनिक तत्व की ओर से वैद्यों की दृष्टि हटजाने से विदेशीय चिकित्सा पद्धति के अनुसर्त्ता विदेशीय तथा एतद्देशीय जन आयुर्वेद के देह पर इस प्रकार आक्रमण कर रहे हैं जैसे किसी प्राणि के देह पर रोग के आगंतु कारण रोग को उत्पन्न करके दोषों को कुपित कर देते हैं और पश्चात् शरीर को व्याधि का घर बना देते हैं। आयुर्वेद पर आक्रमण करने वालों को

आक्रमण करने की हिम्मत इस लिये हुई है क्योंकि आयुर्वेदकी आत्मा (इसके दार्शनिक तत्व) कीपूजा न करके हमने उसे निर्बल करदिया है। यदि आयुर्वेद के महत्व पर अभिमान रखने वाले आयुर्वेद शास्त्री आयुर्वेद को चिकित्सा करके इसे फिर उज्वल करना चाहते हैं तो उनका कर्तव्यहै कि आयुर्वेदकी आत्मा (इसके दार्शनिक तत्व) को उज्वल करें। जब आयुर्वेद की आत्मशक्ति प्रबल होगी तो इसकी दुर्बलता वा क्षीणता को प्रकट करने वाला क्षयरोग मूलतः नष्ट होजावेगा अन्यथा ऊपर की चुपड़ा चुपड़ी से वा रोग चिकित्सा से आयुर्वेद का उद्धार न होगा। अतः यदि वैद्यों को आयुर्वेदकी उन्नति अभीष्टहै तो इसके दार्शनिक तत्वको विशद करने की ओर विशेष प्रयत्न करना चाहिए।

आयुर्वेद का दार्शनिक तत्व से सम्बन्ध—
इसमें किसी को सन्देह नहीं कि रोगों की चिकित्सा के लिये आज कल जितनी उत्सुकता दिखाई जाती है उसके अनुसार रोगों की चिकित्सा कुछ भी दिखाई नहीं देती। चिकित्सक रोगी मिलकर चिकित्सालयों में चिकित्सा का खेल खेलते हैं। रोग को दूर करने के लिये चिकित्सकों को आपस में व रोगियों के साथ शर्तें बंध जाती हैं और चिकित्सा आरम्भ हो जाती है। रोगी जब जीविकोपार्जन में रोग के आविर्भाव होने से बाधा होने के कारण कहते हैं कि 'वैद्यजी? ऐसी दवाई दीजिये कि देतेही आराम होजाय और कल में काम पर चला जाऊं" बस? यदि एक दो दिन में रोग को वैद्यजी ने नहीं पछाड़ दिया तो वैद्यजी स्वयँ पछड़े हुए व अनभिज्ञ समझे जाते हैं

समय के प्रभाव के कारण रोगियों में अधीरता की मात्रा इतनी अधिक बढ़गई है कि रोगी अपने को रोगमुक्त करना नहीं चाहते किंतु अपनी मनोभि-लाषा का यथा तथा पूर्ण करने के लिये सामर्थ्य चाहते हैं।

दार्शनिक तत्व की अवहेलना करने से रोगी और उनके चिकित्सक यह भी भूल गये हैं कि रोग की स्थिति कहां है। यूनान देश के तत्ववेत्ता अफलातून या प्लेटोने सिर दर्द के किसी रोगी का वर्णन किया है जिसके विषय में सुकरात ने निश्चय किया कि चूंकि किसी भी रोग की जड़ आत्मा में होती है अतः जब तक आत्मा का इलाज न किया जायगा तब तक रोग दूर नहीं होसकता सुकरात ने कितना अच्छा विचार उपस्थित किया है। जैसा सूक्ष्मशरीर व आत्मा होगा वैसा हीस्थू-

ल शरीर अपनारूपधारण करेगा। सूक्ष्मशरीरमेंजिस प्रकार की विकृति उपस्थित होगी स्थूल शरीर में उसका प्रति बिम्ब शीघ्रही भासमान होगा। सूक्ष्म शरीर जैसे २ अविकृत, स्वस्थ और प्रसन्न रहेगा वैसे २ स्थूल शरीरभी स्वस्थ्य और प्रसन्न बनेगा इस लिए यदि कोई रोगी पूर्ण स्वस्थ होकर परमानन्द की प्राप्ति चाहता है तो उसे अपने आत्मा को पवित्र करने में प्रयत्न करना चाहिये।

हमारे प्राचीन आचार्य्यों ने रोगों के स्वाभाविक और नैमित्तिक भेद बता कर जरा और मृत्यु को भी स्वभाविक रोग माना है। और उनको चिकित्सा के लिए विचित्र प्रयोगों का आविष्कार किया है। जरा और मृत्यु का सम्भव भी दोषों की विषमता के बिना नहीं है अतः रोग के लक्षणानुसार (रोगस्तु दोषवैशम्यं दोषसाम्यमरोगता)

जरा और मृत्यु की भी परिगणना की गई है। यथा-

स्वभाविकाः(व्याधयः) क्षुत्पिपासाजरामृत्युनिद्रा प्रभृतयः

सु.सू०अ०१,५५

यदि विशेष साधनों से दोषों की विषमता को हटाते हुए दोषों की समता बना रक्खी जाय तो जरा और मृत्यु को भी जीत लेना असम्भव नहीं यद्यपि कठिन अवश्य है।

जरा और मृत्यु को दूर करने के साधन ब्रह्मचर्यादि और रसायन औषध बताए हैं। यथा-:

"रसायनं हि तत्प्रोक्तं यज्जराव्याधिनाशनम्";

इस लक्षण के अनुसार रसायन भेषज केवल जरा का ही नाश नहीं करती अपितु व्याधि को भी हरती हैं। रसायन भेषजों का प्रभाव तीव्र और चिरस्थायी होने के कारण रोगियों और चिकित्स

कों की दृष्टि रसों पर विशेष आकृष्ट है । चरक मुनिके अनुसार रसायन भेषज रसासृगादि धातुओं में उचित परिणाम (Metabolism) को रखने के लिए प्रयुक्त होती हैं । यथाः—

"लाभोपायो हि शस्तानां रसादीनां रसायनम्"
च०चि०अ०१

औ रसायन औषधि आयुवर्द्धक हैं जरा रोग भी नाशक हैं वे उन्हीं लोगों के लिये लाभ कर होती हैं जिन्होंने अपने मन और शरीरों को शुद्ध कर लिया है । जिन्होंने शरीर और मानस दोष दूर नहीं किया उन्हें रसायन से कोई फल नहीं मिलता । कहा है—ः

यथास्थूलमनिर्वाह्य दोषान् शारीर मानसान् ।
रसायन गुणैर्जन्तु र्युज्यते न कदाचन ॥

योगाद्यायुः प्रकर्षार्था जरारोग निबर्हणाः ।
मनःशरीर शुद्धानां सिध्यन्ति प्रयतात्मनाम् ॥

इसलिये जो हतात्मा पुरुष हैं अर्थात् जिन्हों ने मनआदि इन्द्रियों को विषय सेवा में रत हुए वे काम करते हैं जो आयु को क्षीण करने वाले हैं, शरीर दोषों को विकृत करके रोग पैदा करने वाले हैं ... पुरुषों को रसायन तन्त्र का उपदेश नहीं ... चाहिए और जिन्हें सुनने की आकांक्षा नहीं पैदा हुई उन्हें भी उपदेश नहीं करना चाहिए। कहा है—

नैतत्तन्न भवेद्‌ग्राह्यं सर्वमेव हतात्मने ।
अरुजेभ्यो द्विजातिभ्यः शुश्रूषा येषु नास्ति च ॥
च० चि० अ० १

चरकाचार्य बतलाते हैं कि किन गुणों से

युक्त मनुष्य को रसायन सेवन से लाभ होता है यथा :—

सत्यवादिनमक्रोधं निवृत्तं मद्यमैथुनात्।
अहिंसकमनायासम्प्रशांतं प्रियवादिनम् ॥
याज्यशौच परं धीरं दाननित्यं तपस्विनम् ।
देवगोब्राह्मणा चार्य गुरुवृद्धार्चने रतम् ॥
आनृशंस्यपरान्नित्यं नित्यं करुणावेदिनम् ।
समजागरणं स्वप्न नित्यं क्षीर घृताशिनम् ॥
देशकाळ प्रमाणज्ञं युक्तिज्ञमनहङ्कृतम् ।
शस्ताचारमसांकीर्णं पध्यात्मप्रवणेन्द्रियम् ॥
उपासितारं वृद्धाना मास्तिकानां जितात्मनाम् ।
धर्मशास्त्रपरं विद्यान्नंर नित्य रसायनम् ॥
गुणैरतैःसमुदितैःप्रयुङ्क्ते यो सारयनम् ॥
रसायनगुणान् सर्वान् यथोक्तान् ससमश्नुते॥

आज कल संसार चक्र उलटा चलरहा है। जिस मनुष्य में ये उपर्युक्त गुण विद्यमान हैं उसे रसायन सेवन की आवश्यकता नहीं समझी जाती यदि ऐसा मनुष्य रसायन सेवन करे तो लोक में निन्दित समझा जाता है। जो मनुष्य रसायन सेवन करने के सर्वथा अयोग्य है, जिनमें उपर्युक्त गुण विद्यमान नहीं हैं जो कामी क्रोधी, लोभीमोही और व्यसनी हैं वे रसायनों के पीछे पड़े हुये अधिक२ संसार में अनाचार फैला रहे हैं।। रसायन सेवन करके बूढ़े भी जवान बनने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं, ब्रह्मचर्य्य व्रत को धारण करके नहीं अपितु अधिक २ ब्रह्मचर्य्य व्रत् का नाश करने के लिये ऋषि दयानन्द यदि कभी रसायन तन्त्रोक्त भेषज का सेवन करते थे तो यह जानकर कामी जन हंसते हैं कि ब्रह्मचारी दयानन्द को रसायन सेवन

करने की क्या आवश्यकता थी। चरकाचार्य उपर्युक्त कैसे उत्तम शब्दों में कह गये हैं कि रसायन का अधिकार ब्रह्मचारी के लिये है, कामी भोगी व्यसनी के लिये नहीं।

जिसने अपने मानस दोषों की चिकित्सा नहीं की उसके शारीर रोगोंकी चिकित्सा उत्तमोत्तम भेषजों से भी नहीं होसकती। मनके द्वारा इन्द्रियों और शरीर की प्रवृत्ति है। यदि मन रजस् तमस् दोषों करके विकृत होगा तो इन्द्रियां और शरीर के कर्म भी यथावत् नहीं रह सकते। मनकी दुष्प्रवृत्ति से, शरीर को धारण करने वाले वात पित्त श्लेष्मा धातु दुष्ट होकर शरीर में रोग पैदा कर देते हैं। मनकी चिकित्सा को उपेक्षा करके यथाकथञ्चित् शरीर दोषों को यथावस्थित किया भी जाय तो भी रोग का पुनः प्रादुर्भाव होजाता

है, क्योंकि रोग की जड़ केवल शरीर में नहीं अपितु मनमें है। चरकाचार्य व्याधियों का आश्रय शरीर और मन दोनों को बतलाते हैं। यथा—:

शरीरं सत्वसंज्ञं च व्याधी नामाश्रयोमत:।

प्रत्येक जीव व्याधियों की निवृत्ति के लिये यत्न कर रहा है, क्योंकि व्याधियोंके कारण दु:ख अनुभव होता है और प्रत्येक प्राणी में दु:ख से छूटने की और सुख प्राप्त करने की स्वाभाविक इच्छा है, जो प्राणी दु:खोत्पादक साधन में लगे हुए हैं वे भी चाहते सुख ही हैं परन्तु अज्ञान से दु:ख प्राप्ति के साधनों को सुख प्राप्ति का साधन समझ कर उन साधनों में लगे हुए हैं, इसी कारण सुख की अभिलाषा करते हुए भी दु:ख भोग रहे हैं शरीर और इन्द्रियों की प्रवृत्ति स्वतन्त्र नहीं है मनके ही आधीन है। शरीर और इन्द्रियों की प्रवृ-

त्ति को ठीक रखने के लिये मनोवृत्ति को ठीक रख
ना उचित है। शरीर इन्द्री और मन का सम्बन्ध
उस सवारी के साथ अच्छा जचता है जिसमें
सवारी का मालिक अपनी इच्छा के अनुसार गाड़ी
हांकने वाले सारथी को आज्ञा देता है और वह
सारथी उसकी आज्ञानुसार लगाम कस कर घोड़ों
को काबू मे रखता हुआ गाड़ी को ठीक रास्ते पर
चलाता है और बिना कष्ट के गाड़ी के मालक रथी
को उसकी मंजिल पर पहुंचा देता है। इस शरीर
रथ में इन्द्रियां रूपी घोड़े लगे हुए हैं बुद्धि सारथी
ने मनकी लगाम कस कर घोड़ों को काबू किया
हुआ है। मालिक आत्मा की आज्ञा के अनुसार
बुद्धि, इन्द्रिय घोड़ो को हांकना और शरीर की
गाड़ी को विषयों की सड़क पर लेजा रहा है। इस
गाड़ी में सवार हुआ आत्मा मंजलि पर पहुंच कर

अपने उद्देश्य को सफल करता है। उपनिषद् में कहा है—,

आत्मानं रथिनं विद्धि शरीरं रथमेव तु।
बुद्धिं तु सारथिं विद्धि मनः प्रग्रहमेव च ॥
इन्द्रियाणि हयानाहुर्विषयां स्तेषु गोचरान्।

इस प्रकार यह स्पष्ट है कि घोड़े और गाड़ी में यदि कोई नुक्स उनकी बनावट व उनके कार्य में हो तो किसी पशु चिकित्सक व मिस्त्री को मिला कर उनका दोष दूर किया जाता है। यदि घोड़ों को काबू करने वाली लगाम की रस्सियां कच्ची हों-ठीक खींचती नहीं, इन रस्सियों के दोष के कारण घोड़े ठोकर खाते हों और गाड़ी बिगड़ती हो तो लगाम की रस्सियां सुधारने से घोड़े और गाड़ी की चाल अवश्य स्वस्थ होजायगी सुधर जायगी इस अवस्था में घोड़ा गाड़ी की कितनी भी मरम्मत

कीजिये काम नहीं चलेगा। इसके अतिरिक्त यदि सारथी की समझ ही खराब हो वह शराब पीता होतो भी घोड़े और गाड़ी ठीक नहीं चलेंगे। सारथी के बिना इलाज किये केवल घोड़ा गाड़ी की ठोकने पीटने से कुछ न बनेगा। यदि मालिक के संस्कार ही खराब हों. उसका उद्देश्य ह ठीक नहो जहां वह पहुंचना चाहता है वहां सड़क हीं रही टूटी फूटी है तो उस सड़क पर उसकी गाड़ी टूट फूट जावगी घोड़े भी खींचते २ मृत या मृत प्रायः हो जांयगे और उसका मलिक अपने लक्ष्य पर न पहुंच सकेगा। दुख भोगते २ कालान्तर में यदि उसके संस्कार प्रयत्न विशेष से बदल गये तो वह अपना लक्ष्य बदल लेगा और उत्तम गाड़ी उपार्जन करके लक्ष्य पर पहुंचाने योग्य उचित सामग्री के साथ गाड़ी में सवार होकर अपने

लक्ष्य को सिद्ध करेगा।

इस प्रकार यह स्पष्ट है कि आयुर्वेद में शरीर और इन्द्रियों के रोग रोगों के कारण और उनकी चिकित्सा के साथ २ मानसिक रोग उनके कारण और उनकी चिकित्सा बुद्धि विचार (शक्ति) के दोष दोषों की उत्पत्ति के कारण और दोषों को दूर करके सद्बुद्धि प्राप्ति का और कुसंस्कार उनकी उत्पत्ति का कारण और दूर करने का उपाय तथा सुसंस्कारों की प्राप्ति का भी वर्णन् किया जाय। उपर्युक्त दृष्टांत के अनुसार यह भी इस शास्त्र में बताना चाहिये कि मनुष्य जीवन का लक्ष्य क्या है और उसलक्ष्य प्राप्ति के क्या साधन हैं। जैसे उपर्युक्त दृष्टान्त में गाड़ी का मालिक लक्ष्य की ओर चलते २ घोड़ा गाड़ी वा उस के उपकरण के नष्ट होजाने से उसके स्थान में नया प्राप्त करके

अपने लक्ष्य की ओर आगे बढ़ता है वा अपनी उस अन्तिम अभिलाषा को पूरा करता है जिसके परे उसकी कोई अभिलाषा रह नहीं जाती इसप्रकार आत्मा एक जन्म में अपनीअभिलाषा को न पूरा करके नये शरीरको धारण करता वा पुनर्जन्म लेता है। इस प्रकार पुनर्जन्म का प्रश्न भी आयुर्वेद के साथ सम्बद्ध है। ऐसे २ अनेक प्रश्नोंके निर्णयके लिये निर्णय करने का प्रकार प्रमाण प्रमेयादि का निरूपण भी आवश्यक है। यह ठीक है कि एकएक विषय के यथार्थ निरूपण के लिये बड़ा विस्तार चाहिये और एक एक प्रथक ग्रन्थ चाहिये परन्तु उपर्युक्त कथन से यह भी स्पष्ट है कि आयुर्वेद का अध्यात्म वा दार्शनिक तत्व से गहरा सम्बन्ध है और बिना इस दार्शनिक तत्व के निरूपण किये आयुर्वेद ग्रन्थ अपूर्ण है। अतः आयुर्वेद सम्बन्धी सर्व विषयों

के आवश्यक अंशों के संग्रह को दिखानेवाले किसी आयुर्वेद ग्रन्थ में दार्शनिक तत्व का भी आवश्यक अंश अवश्य समाविष्ट होना चाहिये। इतनाही नहीं किन्तु ऋतुओं के परिवर्तन से मनुष्य के स्वास्थ्य पर क्या प्रभाव पड़ता है और इस काल प्रभाव में किस प्रकार स्वास्थ्य ठीक रक्खा जासकता है इस के लिये काल निरूपण काल प्रभाव और स्वास्थ्य रक्षा के उपायों का वर्णन भी आयुर्वेद में होना स्वाभाविक है। प्रत्यक्ष विषय के निरूपण की उतनी आवश्यकता नहीं हुआ करती जितनी अप्रत्यक्षविषय के निरूपणकी होती है तोभी कालनिरूपण पर भी चरकादि प्राचीन आयुर्वेद ग्रन्थों में पर्याप्त प्रकाश डाला है। इस प्रकार मालूम हुआ कि आयुर्वेद का दार्शनिक तत्वसे गहरा संबन्ध है और आयुर्वेद में दार्शनिक तत्व का समावेश अत्यन्त सङ्गत है। *

वात पित्त श्लेष्मा का दार्शनिक तत्त्व से सम्बन्ध

वात पित्त श्लेष्मा जब अपनी उचित मात्रा में नहीं रहते तब इन को त्रिदोष कहते हैं। तब ये दुष्ट या विकृत हुए शरीरकी धातुओं के कार्य और उन की रचनाको विकृत करदेते हैं। दोषों की विषमता के कारण विकृत हुई धातुओं से शरीर में रोग का आविर्भाव होता है। दोषों की समता के कारण सम हुई धातुओंसे शरीरमें नीरोगताका आविर्भाव होता है। जब त्रिदोष सम होते हैं तो देह के उपचय का हेतु है औरजब विषम होते हैं तो अपचय का हेतु होते हैं। उपचयसे वृद्धि और अपचयसे क्षय वानाश होता है। जरा और मृत्यु शरीर की धातुओं के अपचय के द्योतक हैं। धातुओं का अपचय त्रिदोष की विषमता को सूचित करता है। अतः त्रिदोष की विषमता से ही जरा और मृत्यु का आगमन होता है। त्रिदोष की समता रखने से जरा का अपनयन

और दीर्घ जीवन की प्राप्ति अवश्यम्भावी है ।जब. वात पित्त श्लेष्मा सम अवस्था में होते हैं तब इन का नाम त्रिदोष नहीं होता तब इ है त्रिधातु कहते हैं । ये त्रिधातु देह के उपचय का सूचक हैं । शरी- र को स्वस्थ रखना और रोग निवृत करना इसका अर्थ केवल इतनाही है कि शरीरमें वात पित्तश्लेष्मा को सम रखना शरीर में वात पित्त श्लेष्मा को सम रखने से देह की वृद्धि होतीहै । शरीर में जो भी अन्न पान डाला जाता है और शरीर से व्यायाम भ्रमणा- दि के द्वारा शरीर की क्रियाओं को ठीक रखने के लिये जो विहार किया जाता है वह शरीर की किसी कमी को पूरा करने के लिये किया जाता है । यदि अन्न पान ग्रहण न किया जाय और अन्न पान को जीर्ण करने के लिये तथा शरीर मेंयथा स्थान पहुंचाने के लिये विहार का भी सर्वथा परि त्याग कियाजाय तोभी शरीर यथा वस्थित नहीं

रहना क्षीण होने लगता है। इससे प्रकट है कि शरीर में स्वभाव से अर्थात् सृष्टि नियम से ह्रास हो रहा है। उस ह्रास को पूरा करने के लिए अन्नपान का ग्रहण करना आवश्यक होता है। यह अन्नपान एकही रूप में और एक ही मात्रा में प्रत्येक के लिये हित कर नहीं होता क्योंकि प्रत्येक मनुष्य का शरीर उसके अपने प्राक जन्म के कर्मों से भिन्न है और भिन्न प्रकार की अनुकूलता रखता है। (Mateorology) कालशास्त्र और ज्योतिःशास्त्र के नियमों से काल चक्र छः ऋतुओं में विभक्त है। ये छ ऋतुएं परस्पर सर्वथा विभक्त प्रजापति (सम्वत्सरो वै प्रजापतिः) के विभक्त रूपों को प्रकट करती हैं। प्रजापति के विभक्त रूपों के प्रदर्शक छः ऋतुओं में वर्तमान भौतिक द्रव्य हैं। ये भौतिक द्रव्य जिस २ ऋतु में उत्पन्न होते हैं और जिस २ ऋतु में अपनी स्थिति रखते हैं उस २ ऋतु में उस २

ऋतु के गुणों को धारण करते हैं । ऋतुओं का द्रव्यों पर प्रभाव स्वाभाविक है क्योंकि ऋतु सूर्यके गिर्द पृथ्वी के घूमने से स्वाभाविक रीति पर प्रकट होरही हैं । इस सम्वत्सर प्रजापति के शरीरमें चय और क्षयका चक्र वर्तमान है। चूंकि सृष्टिका प्रत्येक भौतिक द्रव्य प्रजापतिके शरीरमें विद्यमान है। और उसका अंश है इसलिये सृष्टिके प्रत्येक भौतिक द्रव्य में चय और क्षयका चक्र स्वभाविकहै। भौतिकद्रव्यों में परिवर्तन,बिना पृथिव्यादिभूतों में परिवर्तन हुए, नहीं हो सकता अतःयह मानना ठीक है कि ऋतु परिवर्तनही भौतिक परिवर्तनका भी आधार है।ऋतु परिवर्तन और भौतिक परिवर्तनमें घनिष्ठ सम्बन्धहै -४०- वसन्त ऋतु में शक्ति पूर्णरूप से विकासोन्मुख होती है। रसउद्भिजों के अन्दर भरजाते हैं , परन्तु प्रकट रूपमें नहीं होते फिर ग्रीष्म में शक्ति अधिकवृद्धि में होती है और रस प्रकट रूप में आते

हैं। इनके बाद प्रतिक्रिया होने से अर्थात् शक्ति के आगे पीछे गति करते हुए चलने से वर्षा ऋतु में उस प्रकट हुए रस से ही उसको गतिके रुकने से रस अनेक रूप में बड़ी मात्रा में प्रकट होते हैं। विकास सिद्धान्तके अनुसार शक्तिका ह्रास और द्रव्य मात्रा का संघटन होता जाता है। शरद्ऋतु में वह रस अपनी पक्वावस्था को पहुंचता है। पश्चात् हेमंत ऋतु में प्रसुप्त सत्ता फिर अन्दर से जागृत होने लगती है और द्रव्य का संघटन टूटने लगता है। शिशिर ऋतु में शक्ति बढ़ती २ सारे द्रव्यको अन्तर्हित करती है और उसके अन्तर्हित होते २ स्वयं भी शांति होजाती है इसका फल यह होता है कि वसंत ऋतु में पूर्ण होकर विकासोन्मुख होजाती है इस प्रकार यह सम्वत्सर चक्र सदा वर्तमान रहता है इस चक्रमें वसन्त पृथिवी रूप है ग्रीष्म तेज रूप वर्षा जलरूप 'शरद्वायुरूप हेमंत आकाश रूप

(विकास की अन्तिम अवस्था] और शिशिर भी आकाश रूप (विकाश की आदिम अवस्था) है।

शिशिर वसंत ग्रीष्म इन में शक्ति की अनुलोम गति होती है अतः यह उत्तरायण काल है और वर्षा शरद्, हेमंत इन में शक्तिकी प्रतिलोम गति होती है अतः यह दक्षिणायन काल है ।पहलीतीन ऋतुओं में द्रव्य का विकास है और दूसरीतीन में अन्तर्लय है भौतिक द्रव्य हमारे शरीर में प्रविष्ट हुए काल के अनुसार शरीर में उस परिवर्तन को उत्पन्न करते हैं जो ऋतु चक्र में हो रहा है ।ऋतु चक्र में चढा हुआ हमारा शरीर ऋतु चक्र के परिवर्तन को साक्षात् भी ग्रहण करता है। शरीर में साक्षात् और परम्परया होने वाले परिवर्तन शरीर और द्रव्यों की प्रकृति भेद से शरीर में समान सुख दुःख उत्पन्न नहीं करते।

शरीर और भौतिक द्रव्यों की प्रकृति पञ्च

भूत हैं। ऋतुओं में परिवर्तन पाञ्चभौतिक हैं। अतएव सुखकर और दुःख कर अवस्था या स्वस्थता और रोग का निदान पाञ्च भौतिक परिवर्तन में ही ढूंढना होता है और व्याधि चिकित्सा के लिये उपयुक्त पाञ्चभौतिक परिवर्तन युक्त द्रव्य का आश्रय लेना पड़ता है अथवा ऐसे अनेक द्रव्यों की योजना की जाती है जिनका फल उपयुक्त पाञ्च भौतिक परिवर्तन होता है। इनसे स्पष्ट है निदान चिकित्सा और द्रव्य गुण विज्ञान का आधार पाञ्चभौतिक विज्ञान है। ये पञ्चभूत आकाश वायु तेज जल और पृथ्वी हैं। इनमें वायु के पूर्व सूक्ष्म अवस्था आकाश है और जल के पश्चात् घन अवस्था पृथ्वी की है आकाश और पृथ्वी का अर्थात् द्रव्यों की अति सूक्ष्म और अति स्थूल अवस्था का विचार वायु और जल के साथ ही करके यदि पञ्चभूतों को तीन में विभाग किया

जाय तो वायु तेज और जल विभाग होगा। पदार्थ विद्या का सिद्धांत है —

द्रव्य अपनी स्थूल अवस्था से सूक्ष्म अवस्था में आते हुए अपने में अधिक ताप को अहण करते हैं, और सूक्ष्म अवस्था से स्थूल अवस्था में जाते हुए अधिक ताप छोड़ते हैं। इससे स्पष्ट है कि जो द्रव्य पाञ्चभौतिक क्रम में जितना स्थूल है उसमें तेज उतना ही कम है और जो द्रव्य पाञ्च भौतिक क्रम में जितना सूक्ष्म है उसमें तेज उतना ही अधिक है। यह सिद्धांत सिद्ध हो सकता है यदि पतित जल की तुल्य राशि (Distille water या पाञ्चभौतिक रङ्गों की भिन्न भिन्न बोतलों में नियत समय तक सूर्य्य ताप से तप्त किया जायतो पिलानेसे काले रङ्ग की बोतल का जल सब अन्यों से अधिक कफ को द्रुत करेगा

यह तो स्पष्ट है कि वायु गति कर्मा है, तेज दीपक है और जल शीतल है। आकाश और वायु के द्रावक या गति कर्मक धर्म को लक्ष्य में रखकर कि दोनों का निर्देश वात शब्द से किया है और जल पृथ्वी के शीतल कर्मक और सांघातिक धर्म को ध्यान में रखकर श्लेष्मा शब्द से निर्देश किया है तेज का धर्म दीपन व प्रकाशन है। यह वायु और जल की अवस्थाओं का मध्यमवर्ती पदार्थ है। इस में गति का अवरोध होने से ताप और प्रकाशन का प्रादुर्भाव होता है। तेज के तपन और दीपन धर्म को लेकर पित्त शब्द दिया है।

इस प्रकार वात पित्त और श्लेष्मा गति ताप और संघात के द्योतक हैं, शरीर और भौतिक द्रव्यों में निदान और चिकित्सा के निमित्त पंच-भूतों को ही निर्देश करते हुए स्वीकार किये गये हैं।

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वात, पित्त, श्लेष्मा के गुणों पर दार्शनिक विचार

त के गुण चरक मुनि ने "रूक्षः शीतो लघुःसूक्ष्मश्चलोऽथविशदः खरः ." इस प्रकार लिखे हैं। "वायुःगति कर्मा" प्रवर्तकश्चे ष्टानाम्" वायुका काम गति करना है यह चेष्टाओं का प्रवर्त क है। शरीर में जहां २ चेष्टा होती हैं वहाँ २ तंतुओं (Tissues)में संकोच (Contraction) होता है तंतुओं में बिना संकोच हुए गति नहीं हो सकती शरीर में अनेक चेष्टायें होरही हैं। यथा—श्वास लेना छोड़ना, हृदय का धड़कना, रक्तवाहिनियों (धमनि और शिरा) में रुधिर घूमना, अन्न का ग्रहण पचन, मल त्याग, ग्रंथियों (Glands) से उपयुक्त रसों (Flnids) का अंतः बहिः स्राव (Internal and external Secrative) धातु का

धात्वन्तर में परिवर्तन, इंद्रियों के विषयों का ग्रहण, मन का इंद्रियविशेष से लगना और हटना, विषय का चिंतन इत्यादि। ये सब कर्म वात के द्वारा तंतुओंमें संकोच उत्पन्नसे होते हैं। शीतकाल में या शीत वस्तु के सेवन से तंतुओं में संकोच उत्पन्न होता है अथवा वातका कर्म आरम्भ होजाता है। जब संकोच तंतुओं में संकोच की हीन मात्रा को पूरा करके उचित मात्रा में करदेता है तब तो आनन्द होता है, और जब उचित मात्रा से अधिक काल तक और अधिक परिमाण तक संकोच रहता है तो वायु की वृद्धि कही जाती है और जब अति मात्रा में हुआ सङ्कोच शरीर वा मानस विकारों को उत्पन्न करने लगता है तब वात कुपित कहा जाता है। कुपित हुआ वात आनन्द के स्थान में दुःख उत्पन्न करता है। सङ्कोच के कारण श्लैष्मिक और पैत्तिक ग्रंथियाँ अपने २ द्रव्यों को फेंकने लगती हैं

यह द्रव तंतुओं की सहीन परम्परा से स्थानांतर में चलाआता है। यदि आवश्यकता के अनुकूल उनद्रव्यों का प्रक्षेप हुआ है। तो वे द्रव शरीर में लगजाते हैं और यदि बिना आवश्यकता के उनका प्रक्षेप हुआ है तो वे द्रव अपना २ विकार उत्पन्न करते हैं। इसप्रकार ठीक कहा है कि पित्त और श्लेष्मा स्वयं कहीं शरीर मे नहीं जा सकते वायु उनको मेघ के समान इधर उधर लेजाता है और वे उस २ स्थान में मेघ के समान जाते और अपना काम करते हैं। कहा है—

पित्तं पङ्गुः कफः पङ्गुः पङ्गवोमलधातवः।
वायुना यत्र नीयंते तत्र गर्जन्ति गच्छन्ति मेघवत्

जो पदार्थ वायु और आकाश तत्व प्रधान हैं वे विपाक कालमें अधिक शक्तिका प्रकाश करते हैं या त्वचा के मार्गसे यदि उनका अञ्जन किया जाय तो वे भौतिक क्रम में पार्थिव अवस्था की ओर

परिवर्तित होते हुए अपने घटक द्रव्यों से भिन्न २ प्रकार के समास बनाते हुए विशेष शक्ति उत्पन्न करते हैं। इस शक्ति से जमी हुई श्लेष्मा पिघल जाती है, अवरुद्ध हुए स्रोत खुलजाते हैं।

तैजस और जल तत्व प्रधान द्रव्य परिणामांतर को प्राप्त हुए उतना शक्ति का प्रकाश नहीं कर सकते क्योंकि उनका जन्म स्वभाव ही ऐसा है और इसी विचार से श्लेष्मोत्पादक द्रव्य शक्ति संचार के स्थान में स्थिरता और मंदता को लाने वाले होने चाहिए, क्योंकि उनमें जल और पृथ्वी तत्व प्रधान होते हैं। अतः श्लेष्मा के विलयन के लिये शिथिल अङ्गों को क्रिया शील (Active) अवस्था में लाने के लिये वायु तत्व प्रधान द्रव्य जितने उपयोगी हैं उनसे कम तैजस् हैं और जल तथा पार्थिव तत्व प्रधान द्रव्य उपयोगी नहीं हैं वा अतिन्यून उपयोगी हैं जो अभीष्ट फलकी दृष्टि से

ग्रहण नहीं किये जासकते। इसीलिये कास तथा श्वास में श्लेष्मा के द्रावण के लिये और हृदय में फुफ्फुस को बल देने के लिये भी वासा का विशेष उपयोग है। वासा आकाश और वायु तत्व प्रधान द्रव्य है। कपूर श्वास रोग में श्लेष्मा के द्रावण के लिए उपयोगी है। कपूर द्रव्य आकाश तथा वायु प्रधान है।

वात प्रधान द्रव्य शीत कहते हैं। वात की शीतता में और जलकी शीतता म भेद है। दार्शनिकों ने जल को शीत, तेज को उष्ण और वायुको योगवाहि माना है। जल के साथ मिलने से शीत और तेज के साथ मिलने से उष्णस्पर्श वाला होता है। कहा है—

"अनुष्ण शीत स्पर्शवान् वायुः

आयुर्वेद की परिभाषा में यूं कहसकते हैं कि वात श्लेष्मा से युक्त होकर शीत और पित्त के

साथ युक्त होकर उष्ण होनी चाहिए। परन्तु ऐसा नहीं है वायु के गुण वर्णन करते हुए वायु का गुण शीत बताया है। ऐसा लिखना अवैज्ञानिक या दार्शनिक विचार से शून्य नहीं है। दर्शन का "अनुष्णाशीत स्पर्शवान् वायुः" लिखना और आयुर्वेद का "शीत गुणवान् वायुः" लिखना परस्पर विरुद्ध नहीं है। वायु तंतुओं (Tissues) में सङ्कोच (Contraction) द्वारा गति उत्पन्न करता है। यदि यह सङ्कोच उचित काल और उचित मात्रा से अधिक काल और अधिक मात्रा में बढ़जावे तो श्लैष्मिक और पैत्तिक ग्रंथियों से स्रावहोना बन्द होजायेगा। पैत्तिक ग्रन्थियोंसे स्राव बन्द होजाने से पित्त अग्नि ऊष्मा का पाक करके शरीर में जो उष्णता उत्पन्न करता था वह न होनेसे शरीर में शैत्य उत्पन्न होगा। इस शैत्य का अनुभव वातातत्त्व का उपयोग नहीं है किंतु वायु के

कारण पित्त के कार्यका शांत होजाना है। जिस प्रकार जल अपनी युक्ति से अग्नि को शांत करके शैत्य का अनुभव करता है इसी प्रकार वायु भी अपनी युक्ति से अग्नि को शांत करके शैत्य का अनुभव कराता है। इस प्रकार के प्रभाव को देख कर ही आयुर्वेद में वायु को शीत गुण वाला कहा है, वस्तुतः वायु स्वयं जलके समान शीत और तेज के समान उष्ण नहीं है। जहां वायु अपने कर्म में अति करने से शीत प्रभाव को उत्पन्न करती है, वहां उसके प्रभाव को दूर करने के लिए उष्णोपचार से ऊष्मा पहुंचा कर संकोच के विरुद्ध तन्तुओं में प्रभाव उत्पन्न किया जाता है इस ऊष्मा से जब सङ्कोच अपनी उचित मात्रा में होजाता है तो तंतु अपना उचित कार्य करने लगते हैं। वात के प्रभाव से जैसे पित्त ग्रंथियों के अति सङ्कोच से शैत्य उत्पन्न होता है इसी प्रकार

श्लेष्म ग्रंथियों के अति सङ्कोच से श्लेष्म स्राव बन्द होजाने के कारण रूक्षता उत्पन्न होती है । इसी कारण वायु को रूक्ष कहा है । अङ्गों में स्नेह को उत्पन्न करने वाला श्लेष्म है । क्योंकि श्लेष्मिक द्रव्य जल पृथिवी तत्व प्रधान होने से आर्द्रता सम्पादन करें अतः श्लेष्मा के कार्य के रुक जाने से स्निग्धता नहीं रहेगी रूखेपन के साथ कठोरता या खरता आजावेगी । वायु खरता का उत्पादक है अतः वायु को खर कहा है । अवयवों को जोड़ना मिलाना पृथिवी तत्व का कार्य्य है अतएव जल पृथिवी तत्व प्रधान श्लैष्मिक द्रव्य का कार्य्य रुक जाने से अवयवों का संघटन नहीं रह सकता, उन में विशदता आजायगी । यह विशद गुण आकाश तत्व का है जो पदार्थ आकाश और वायु तत्व प्रधान होगा उस में विशद करने का गुण भी अवश्य होगा । इस विशदता के सम्बन्ध

इन करने से शरीर श्लैष्मिक द्रव्य के द्वारा होने वाला पृथिवी तत्व का प्रभाव (स्थूलता) दूर हो कर शरीर में सूक्ष्मता आजायगी और सूक्ष्मता होने से शरीर में लघुता (हलका पन) प्रकट होगा इस प्रकार वात के प्रभावों को देखकर स्पष्ट है कि आकाश वायु तत्व प्रधान द्रव्य जिन्हें वातिक द्रव्य कहते हैं अवश्य ही रूक्ष, शीत, लघु, सूक्ष्म, चल, विषद और खर गुण वाला होना चाहिये।

पित्त का लक्षण इस प्रकार किया है:—

पित्तं सस्नेह तीक्ष्णोष्णं लघु विस्रं सरं द्रवम्।
विपरीतगुणैः पित्तं द्रव्यैराशु प्रशाम्यति॥

पित्त उष्ण है तेज व अग्नि तत्व प्रधान है ताप और प्रकाश व चमक उत्पन्न करता है तेजस तत्व का कर्म (Espareion) फैलाना है। पृथिवी तत्व के (Epaersion) विस्तार में और तेजस तत्व के विस्तार में भेद है। तेजस्तत्व

(Volume) आयतन को बढ़ाता है और पृथिवी तत्व (Mass) द्रव्य राशि में अधिक २ द्रव्य राशि को सबद्ध कर के द्रव्य राशि को बढ़ाता है। तेजस्तत्व से द्रव्य के अवयवों में विरलता आती है और पृथिवी तत्व से द्रव्य के अवयवों में घनता आती है। इसी लिये तेजस्तत्व प्रधान पैत्तिक द्रव्य का प्रभाव पृथिवी तत्व प्रधान श्लैष्मिक द्रव्य के प्रभाव से विभिन्न और विपरीत पड़ता है।

पदार्थ विद्या का सिद्धान्त है कि यदि द्रव्यों का दबाव (Pressue) और आयतन (Volume) स्थिर रक्खा जाय तो द्रव्य को ताप देने से उस की घनता (Density) कम हो जाती है अर्थात् द्रव्य विरल हो जाता है। इस विरलता के कारण द्रव्य लघु हो जाता है। तेजस्तत्व घन व द्रव द्रव्यों को अवयवों को फैलाने का गुण रखता है। द्रव्यों के अवयवों की सम्बद्धता

टूट जाती है। इस सम्बद्धता को काटने से ही तेजस्तत्व का द्योतक पित्त द्रव्य तीक्ष्ण है। अब वात श्लैष्मिक ग्रन्थियों को अति मात्रा में संकुचित कर के श्लैष्मिक स्राव को रोक देती है तब पित्त श्लैष्मिक ग्रन्थियों के प्रसार से संकोच को उचित मात्रा में लाकर श्लैष्मिक स्राव को प्रवृत्त कराता है। इस प्रकार वायु जन्य रूक्षता पित्तजन्य स्नेह से शान्त होती है। अतः पित्त का स्नेह गुण कहा गया है। यकृत् ग्रंथियों में स्थित पित्त द्रव्य तेजस्तत्व प्रधान है। आंतों में श्लैष्मिक ग्रंथियों से स्राव उत्पन्न करके मल को बाहिर निकालता है इसी लिये सर है, तथा वहां की वात नाड़ियों में चांचल्यता उत्पन्न कर के आंतों की गति को ठीक २ रखता है। पित्त द्रव्य दुर्गन्धित होने से विस्र है और बहने वाला होने से द्रव है।

वातिक और पैत्तिक द्रव्य दोनों गति देते

हैं परन्तु दोनों के प्रधान तत्त्वों के भेद से इन की गतिओं में भी उसी प्रकार भेद हैं। वात सङ्कोच करती है और पित्त प्रसार करता है और उसी कारण वात शीत है और पित्त उष्ण है, वात रूक्ष गुण है और पित्त स्नेह गुण है;इसी कारण लक्षणों को पहिचान कर वात के बहुत से लक्षणों का प्रतीकार पैत्तिक द्रव्य से और पित्त के बहुत से लक्षणों का प्रतीकार वातिक द्रव्य से हो जाता है।

चरकाचार्य्य ने पित्त के गुण लिखते हुए लघु और विशद गुण नहीं लिखे अम्ल और कटु लिखे हैं। अम्ल और कटु रस के छः भेदों में से दो भेद हैं। अम्ल रस और कटु रस दोनों रस नेन्द्रिय पर लगते ही दाह उत्पन्न करते हैं उसे काटते से हैं। आँख, नाक, मुख से स्राव उत्पन्न करते हैं। इस कारण इन में तेजस्तत्व प्रधान होने से यह शरीर में पित्त क्रिया वर्द्धक हैं। पित्त की अधिकता से

युक्त द्रव्य का पक अम्ल व कटु होता है।

श्लेष्माका लक्षण चरक मुनिने इस प्रकार किया है-

गुरु शीत मृदुस्निग्धमधुरस्थिरपिच्छलाः ।
श्लेष्मण प्रशमं यान्ति बिपरीत गुणागुणः ॥

श्लेष्मा जल तत्त्व और पृथिवी तत्त्व प्रधान द्रव्य है। श्लेष्मा में इन्हीं के गुणों की प्रधानता होनी चाहिये। श्लेष्मा के कार्य्य इन तत्वों के कार्य हैं। उन कार्य्यों के अनुसार श्लेष्मा के गुणों का कथन है। उपादान कारण के गुण कार्य्य में उपस्थित होते हैं इस लिये कार्य और कारण में गुण पूर्वक सम्बन्ध देखा जाता है। इसी प्रकार जल और पृथिवी तत्वों और श्लेष्मा में सम्बन्ध दीखता है। जल तत्त्व शीत होने से श्लेष्मा शीत है। पृथिवी गुरु है क्यों कि शक्ति (Energy) के नष्ट (Dissipate) होने से द्रव्य के अवयव जो पहिले विरल होते हैं पार्थिव अवस्था में संश्लिष्ट हो

आते हैं। अतएव वह पदार्थ जिस में उस के अवयव पूर्व की अपेक्षा अधिक संश्लिष्ट हो जावें गुरु हो जाता है। इसी लिये श्लेष्मा भी गुरु है। श्लैष्मिक द्रव्य रूपान्तर होने में शारीरिक शक्ति का अधिक व्यय करते हैं इसी लिये शरीर में शीतता, स्थिरता और स्थौल्य उत्पन्न करते हैं। जल और पृथिवी तत्व में स्नेह गुण होनेसे श्लेष्मा भी शरीर में स्नेह को उत्पन्न करता है। जल के कारण श्लेष्मा शरीर में मृदुता उत्पन्न करता है। जब श्लेष्मा शरीर में बढ़ जाता है तब वायु के सङ्कोच के कार्य को जीत लेता है और श्लैष्मिक ग्रन्थियां या तो फूल जाती हैं या वायु की सहायता से अनुचित तौर पर श्लेष्मा का स्राव करने लगती हैं। शरीर में अनुपयुक्त अतिरिक्त श्लेष्मा धातु रूप से मल रूप हुआ २ वायु की सहायता से गाढ़ा हो कर स्निग्धता को धारण करता है। जब और

पृथिवी तत्वों का रस मधुर होने से श्लेष्मा भी मधुर समझना चाहिये।

वात पित्त और श्लेष्मा के उपर्युक्त विचार को ध्यान में रख कर इनके सम्बन्ध में कई अन्य विचार प्रकट होते हैं सृष्टि का कोई भौतिक द्रव्य शुद्ध वात, पित्त और श्लेष्मा के रूप में नहीं है। किसी में इनमें से एक की और किसी में अनेक की प्रधानता है। अज्ञान के कारण वा संयम न होने से किसी एक प्रकार के आहार विहार का अति सेवन करने से शरीरों में विषमता और रोग उत्पन्न होते रहते हैं। इस लिये शरीर को स्वस्थ रखने के लिये काल के अनुसार नानाविधि द्रव्योंसे संस्कृत पथ्य और भेषज का सेवन किया जाता है। जिस द्रव्य के घटक वात और श्लेष्मा से संयुक्त हैं। वह द्रव्य अतिशीत के कारण आंतों में संकोच पैदा कर के गति को मंद तो कर ही देगा साथ २

श्लेष्मा की अपरि पक्वावस्था से वा पित्त कृत विदाह से आध्मान भी पैदा कर देगा। ऐसे पदार्थ के साथ अन्य कोई ऐसा पदार्थ खाना उचित होगा जो ऊष्मा के कारण आँतों के अति संकोचन को न होने दे और आँतों की गति को उचित रख-हुए आँतों में उत्पन्न दुर्गन्धित वायु (Flatus) को बाहर निकालने में सहायता दे। इसी प्रकार वात पित्त प्रधान द्रव्य रूक्षता और उष्णता उत्पन्न करेगा, इस के कार्य को उचित मात्रा में रखने के लिए श्लैष्मिक द्रव्य से इसे जीतना पड़ेगा क्योंकि श्लेष्मा स्निग्ध तथा शीतहै, वात और पित्त दोनों को शाँत रखने वाला है। इसी प्रकार वात, पित्त श्लेष्मा के परस्पर सम्बन्धों का विचार करके वैद्य को पथ्य और भेषज की कल्पना करनी होती है।

बात पित्त श्लेष्मा के चय कोप और क्षय का ऋतु सम्बन्धी विचार

सृष्टि में वर्तमान ऋतु चक्र का बात पित्त श्लेष्मा पर स्वाभाविक प्रभाव होता रहता है। इससे शरीरों की और द्रव्यों की अवस्था बदलती रहती है। यह परिवर्तन निम्न कोष्ठक से स्पष्ट है:—

काल चक्र						
	उत्तरायण काल			दक्षिणायन काल		
	शिशर	बसंत	ग्रीष्म	वर्षा	शरद	हेमन्त
चय			वात	पित्त		श्लेष्मा
कोप		श्ले०		बात	पित्त	
क्षय	पित्त		श्ले०			वात

इस कोष्ठक से स्पष्ट है कि ग्रीष्मऋतु में जब कि आदित्य की किरणें अतितीव्र होती हैं, भूमि पर जल शुष्क होजाते हैं, पदार्थ ताप को अपने में जज़्ब करने लगते हैं, तब शरीरों और द्रव्यों में श्लेष्मा का क्षय और बात की वृद्धि होने लगती है। श्लेष्मा के क्षय से स्थूलता और बल का नाश तथा निर्बलता और कृशता का प्रादुर्भाव होता है। यह बात शरीरों में शीतता और रूक्षता का प्रभाव नहीं दिखा सकता, क्योंकि आदित्य का प्रबल तेज उसके संकोचक प्रभाव को रोककर शरीर के अवयवों में प्रसार उत्पन्न करके श्लेष्मा को अत्यन्त द्रुत और स्रवित करता है जिससे शरीरों में स्निग्धता बनी रहती है परंतु स्नेह के अत्यंत व्यय से और ताप के [illegible] से शरीर लघु दुर्बल और कृश [illegible] तथा बात [illegible] २ सुस अव-

स्था में रहती है। इस समय लघु शीत और स्निग्ध द्रव्यों का सेवन हित है।

वर्षाकाल के आते ही, जबकि सूर्य्य की किरणें तिरछी पड़ती हैं, सूर्य्य का ताप क्षीण होजाता है, वातावरण जलसे परिपूर्ण हुआ जल छोड़ने लगता है, शरीरों पर दबाव कम होजाने से तथा शीत से संकोचन क्रिया आरम्भ होजाती है, स्राव बन्द होजाते हैं, शरीर में वायु का वेग ऊर्ध्व होजाता है ग्रीष्मऋतु के प्रभाव से वात द्दुष पदार्थों का उपभोग प्रारम्भ होजाता है, तब शरीर में कुपित हुई वात अपना प्रभाव दिखाने लगती है। मलस्तम्भ, आध्मान और अग्निमान्द्य की शिकायत सुनाई देने लगती है। शरीर में उत्पन्न हुआ पित्त बाह्य और आभ्यां-तर शीत के प्रभाव से सञ्चित हुआ सुप्त पड़ा रहता है। इस अवस्था में वात को जीतने के लिये

लघु उष्ण स्निग्ध द्रव्यों का सेवन हितकर है। उष्ण वस्ति (Enema) से भी वात को जीतना चाहिए।

जब वर्षा काल बीत जाता है, सूर्यताप से बाह्य शीत के निवृत्त होजाने से और उष्ण पदार्थों के सेवन से वात का प्रभाव मन्द होचुकता है, लघु पदार्थों के सेवन से शरीर पुष्ट नहीं हुए होते तब स्वभावतः पित्त का प्रकोप आरम्भ हो जाता है। इस पित्त को शांत करने के लिए सृष्टि की ओर से वात और श्लेष्मा का संचय नहीं होरहा होता। पित्त प्रकुपित होकर मलों को अच्छी तरह बाहर निकालने का कार्य करता है। बुद्धिमान को उचित है कि उस समय विरेचन से पित्त के कार्य की सहायता करें जिससे शरीर स्वच्छ होजावे। अति भोजन वा गुरु भोजन करके पित्त को दबाने का यत्न न करे। इस प्रकार पित्त शांत न होगा

प्रत्युत वृद्ध और कुपित होकर विदाह, अतिसार, पांडु , कामला , रक्तपित्त आदि अनेक व्याधियां उत्पन्न करेगा। इस समय लघु , शीत सर और स्निग्ध द्रव्यों का सेवन करे।

इस प्रकार पित्त के शांत होजाने से शरीर में वात पित्त श्लेष्मा उचित मात्रा में होजाते हैं , भूख अच्छी लगती है, शरीर स्वस्थ और नीरोग अनुभव होने लगता है। सूर्य की किरणें अति मन्द हो जाती है। शीत अधिक अनुभव होने लगता है। सूर्य के प्रभाव से श्लेष्मा का द्रव होना बन्द हो जाता है। इस प्रकार हेमन्त ऋतु में श्लेष्मा का संचय होने लगता है। शरीर तथा भेषज-द्रव्य गुरु और बलवान होजाते हैं। श्लेष्मा की वृद्धि से वात के अभ्यांतर विकार तो शांत होजाते हैं। परन्तु शीत के प्रभाव से त्वचा शुष्क होने लगती है।

हेमन्त ऋतु के अनन्तर शिशिर ऋतु आती है। हेमन्त और शिशिर ऋतु में सूर्य्य का प्रवेश एक ही होता है अन्तर केवल इतना है कि हेमन्त में शीत बढ़ रहा होता है क्यों कि सूर्य दक्षिणायन की हद पर पहुंच रहा होता है और शिशिर ऋतु में दक्षिणायन की सीमा पर पहुंच कर फिर लौटने लगता है। इन दोनों ऋतुओं के संधिकाल में शीत सबसे अधिक होता है। शिशिर ऋतु में शरीर और वृक्षों की त्वचा अत्यन्त शुष्क होजाने से श्लेष्मा से आर्द्र और स्निग्ध न रहने से झड़ने लगती है, पत्ते गिरने लगते हैं, शरीर पर से बाल झड़ने लगते हैं, साँप अपनी त्वचा (कांचली) छोड़ने लगते हैं। प्रकृति देवी पुराने वस्त्र (वस्त्र-आच्छादने) त्याग कर नवीन वस्त्र ओढ़ने की तय्यारी करने लगती हैं। हेमन्त ऋतु में सञ्चित हुआ श्लेष्मा शिशिर ऋतु में उत्तरायण के आरम्भ

होजाने पर भी सूर्य किरणों के मन्द होने से द्रुत नहीं हुआ होता। श्लेष्मा के शीत प्रभाव से तथा बाह्य शीत स ां पित्त के विकार शांत रहते हैं। शिशिर ऋतु प पूर्व भाग में द्रव्यों का उपचार हेमन्त ऋतु के समान ही कर सकते हैं। शिशिर ऋतु के उत्तर भाग में सूर्य की किरण श्लेष्मा को किञ्चित् द्रुत करने लगती हैं, जिससे धीरे २ श्लेश्मिक विकारों का प्रारम्भ होने लगता है, इस कारण किञ्चित २ रूक्ष पदार्थों का सेवन प्रारम्भ कर देना चाहिए।

वसन्त ऋतु में श्लेष्मा द्रुत होकर नाना प्रकार के श्लैष्मिक विकारों को प्रगट करती है। इस समय प्रकृति की ओर से श्लेष्मा के विकारों को रोकने के लिए किसी का संचय नहीं होता। वातिज पदार्थों के सेवन से रूक्षता लाभ करने का प्रयत्न किया जाता है। वातिज

पदार्थों के उपभोग करते करते ग्रीष्मऋतु में बात संचित और श्लेष्मा क्षय होजाता है बसन्तऋतु में उचित है कि श्लेष्मा के कष्ट को निवारण करने के लिए बातज द्रव्यों से बमन करके शोधन कर लिया जाय।

इस प्रकार पता लगता है कि ऋतु चक्र हमारे शरीरों और द्रव्यों पर बात पित्त श्लेष्मा के चय कोप और क्षय से स्वभाविक प्रभाव डालता है। इस प्रभाव को जांच किए बिना स्वस्थ वृत्त का पालन और व्याधि चिकित्सा उत्तम फलप्रद नहीं होते हैं। अभीष्ठ लाभ को प्राप्त करने के लिए "बात पित्त श्लेष्मा के चय कोप क्षय पर ऋतु चक्र का प्रभाव" सम्बंधि दार्शनिक विचार करना आवश्यक होता है।

भिन्न२ प्रदेशों में उत्पन्न द्रव्यों का शीतोष्ण संबंध विचार ।

पृथ्वी सूर्य्य के गिर्द घूमती है । पृथ्वी की उत्तर दक्षिण दिशा स्थिर रहती है। पृथ्वी अपने इर्द गिर्द एक कल्पित अक्ष पर घूमती है। दक्षिणीय और उत्तरीय ध्रुवतारों को मिलाने वाली रेखा पर जब पृथ्वी आती है तो उसका अक्ष उत्तरीय और दक्षिणी । ध्रुवतारों की सीध में होता है। पृथ्वी का अक्ष और ध्रुवतारों को मिलाने वाली रेखा में से गुजरते हुए धरातल (Plane) में पृथ्वी का अक्ष रहता है। पृथ्वी की प्रत्येक स्थिति में अक्ष की स्थितियां परस्पर समानांतर रहती हैं। ये समानांतर रेखायें अतिदूर ध्रुवतारों पर मिलती हुई प्रतीत होती हैं। इसलिए पृथ्वी की उत्तर दक्षिण दिशायें सर्वदा स्थिर रहती हैं। इसी के अनुसार दक्षिण ,और

बाम और पूर्व और पश्चिम दिशायें स्थिर हैं। पृथ्वी उत्तर-पश्चिम-दक्षिण-पूर्व इस क्रम में सूर्य के गिर्द घूमती है। जैसे २ पृथ्वी उत्तर से दक्षिण की ओर जाती है वैसे २ पृथ्वी का उत्तरीय ध्रुव सूर्य के सन्मुख होता जाता है और जैसे २ दक्षिण से उत्तर की ओर जाती है वैसे२ पृथ्वी का दक्षिणीय ध्रुव सूर्य के सम्मुख होता जाता है। जब पृथ्वी दक्षिणकी ओर जारही हो तो उत्तरायण काल होता है और जब उत्तरकी ओर जारही हो तो दक्षिणायन काल होता है। इस प्रकार उत्तरायण काल की तीन और दक्षिणायन काल की तीन ऋतुयें बनती हैं। भूमध्य रेखा पर जो प्रदेश हैं उनका दक्षिणायन और उत्तरायण काल तुल्य होता है। भूमध्य रेखा से जो देश जितना २ उत्तरीय ध्रुव की ओर है उनका उत्तरायण काल उतना २ लंबा और दक्षिणायन काल

दीर्घ तथा जो देश जितना २ दक्षिणीय ध्रुव की ओर हैं उनका दक्षिणायन काल उतना २ लघु और उत्तरायण काल दीर्घ होता है। जिस जिस प्रदेश पर जितनी २ अधिक सूर्य्य रहता है औषधियां उतनी अधिक गर्म और रूक्ष होती हैं और जितना २ कम सूर्य्य रहता है उतनी उतनी कम गर्म वा शीत और रूक्ष औषधियां होती हैं। सूर्य की इस गति को ध्यान में रख कर भूगोल के पांच हिस्से कर दिये हैं भूमध्य रेखा से तीन हिस्से ऊपर हैं और तीन नीचे हैं। भूमध्य रेखा के साथ लगने वाले दोनों हिस्से मिला कर एक समझे जांय तो पांच हिस्से इस प्रकार बनते हैं।

उष्ण कटिबन्ध उत्तरीय शीतोष्ण कटिब दाक्षिणीय शीतोष्ण कटिबन्ध, उत्तरीय शी कटिबंध, दक्षिणीय शीत कटिबंध।

पदार्थों को शीतता, उष्णता और रूक्षता
ादि पर पर्वत और समुद्र का भी असर पड़ता
है। पर्वत प्रदेश शीत हैं और उनपर जल भी नहीं
ठहर सकता बहजाता है अतः ऊंचे पर्वतों की
औषधियां शीत और रूक्ष होनी चाहिए श्लेष्म-
बर्द्धक नहीं होनी चाहिए। वहां के मनुष्य भी
पतले छोटे मेहनती फुर्तीले और रूखे स्वभाव
के होने चाहिए जो पर्वत जलसे परिपूर्ण हैं।
जिनसे १२ मास नदियां बहती रहती हैं उनमें
जल के कारण शीत स्निग्ध बात विकार नाशक
बल्य वृष्य औषधियां होनी चाहिए। वहां के
मनुष्य समान्य पर्वतियों से अतिरिक्त स्निग्ध,
कोमल, निष्कपटी मधुर स्वभाव के होने चाहिए
जो प्रदेश समुद्र के किनारे हैं वहां जलकी
प्रधानता से औषधियां स्निग्ध होंगी, उष्ण
कटिबन्ध में वे उष्ण स्निग्ध और शीतोष्ण वा

शीत कटिबन्ध में शीतस्निग्ध होंगी। ऐसे स्थान के मनुष्य भी बहुत परिश्रमी नहीं होंगे, मोटे होंगे सुस्त होंगे, धनी होंगे, इनको श्लेष्मा के रोग अधिक होंगे। जो प्रदेश समुद्र के समीप नही है मैदान हैं वहां की औषधियां रूक्ष होंगी शीतोष्ण वा शीत कटिबन्ध में शीत और उष्ण कटिबन्ध में उष्ण होंगी।

भारत वर्ष में उत्तरीय भारत शीतोष्ण कटिबन्ध में है और दक्षिणीय भारत उष्ण कटिबन्ध में है। उत्तरीय और दक्षिणीय भारत की सीमा विन्ध्य पर्वत है। विन्ध्य पर्वत कर्क रेखा के दक्षिण की ओर कर्क रेखा के किनारे पर है। उत्तरीय भारत की उत्तर दिशा में हिमालय की श्रेणी है हिमालय इतना ऊंचा है कि इसमें भूमध्य रेखा से ध्रुव तक ताप मान का जितना भेद है सब मिलजाता है। कहा है:—

In ascending the nimalaya Mountains the same ranges of temperature are experienced as in proceeding from the Equator to the Pole.

Longmans, geographical series for India
Book II. The World.

हिमालय पर्वत जलसे परिपूर्ण है। इससे १२ मास बहने वाली नदियां उत्तर से दक्षिण-उत्तर को बहने वाली और दक्षिण-पश्चिम को बहने वाली नदियाँ अनेक निकलती हैं। वाष्प परिपूर्ण वायु पूर्व दिशा से उठी हुई हिमालय के पूर्वीय किनारेसे पश्चिम किनारे की ओर चलती जाती हैं, इस लिये पूर्वीय किनारेपर अधिक वर्षा होती है और पश्चिम किनारे की तरफ कम होती जाती है। हिमालय के

दक्षिणीय पार्श्वपर अधिक वर्षा होतीहै और उत्तरीयपार्श्वपर कम होती है।उत्तरीय पार्श्व दक्षिणीय पार्श्व की अपेक्षा अधिकगर्म है।

इन सब उपर्युक्त विचारों को ध्यान में रखकर हिमालय की औषधियां जल प्रधान होने से सौम्य हैं, स्निग्धहैं, बल्यहैं, वृष्यहैं. ।विन्ध्य पर्वत की औषधियां उष्णहैं आग्नेयहैं । साधारणतः भारतवर्ष में ऊपर सौम्य, शीत गुण प्रधान औषधि हैं और नीचे २ आते हुए आग्नेय, उष्ण गुण होती जाती हैं। हिमालयपर्वत में रूक्ष, स्निग्ध, अत्यन्त शीत और अत्यन्त उष्ण सब प्रकार की ऋतु (Climate)मिलनेसे वहां सब प्रकारकी औषधियां प्राप्त होसकती हैं ॥

—वातपित्त श्लेष्मा का भेद निरूपण—

चरक संहिता में वायु के पांच भेद किये हैं
" वायुः प्राणोदान समान व्यानापानात्मा । "

वायु की पांच प्रकार की गति उपर्युक्त वायु के भेदों में बताई है । श्वसन (Inhalation) और निश्वसन (Exhalation) को प्राणन क्रिया कहते हैं। शरीर पर बाहर के वायु मण्डल का द-बाव पड़ता है। जब फुफ्फुस संकुचित अवस्था में होते हैं तो खाली होने से अन्दर दवाव कम और बाहर अधिक होता है, इस लिये बाहर से वायु नासिका छिद्रों द्वारा फुफ्फुस में घुसती है। इस क्रिया को श्वसन या (Inhalation) कहते हैं। भीतर गई हुई वायु में कर्बनिकाम्लगैस (Cor) तथा जल वाष्प मिल जाने से बाहर की वायु के दबाव की अपेक्षा भीतर की वायु का दबाव बढ़ जाता है, इस लिये भीतर से वायु बाहर को आ-

जाती है । श्वसन क्रिया में (Diaphragm) वक्षः कोष्ठ मध्यवर्ति पेशी नीचे को दबजाती है। (Diaphragm) के नीचे को दबने से कोष्ठगत अवयव नीचे को दबते हैं और पेट फूलता मालूम होता है। Diaphragm नीचे को दबकर फिर पीछे को लौटता है तब फुफ्फुसों को दबाकर भीतर की वायु को बाहर धकेलता है। इस प्रकार श्वसन और निश्वसन सम्बन्धी प्राणन क्रिया होती रहती है। बाह्य वायु जिस समय सूर्य की उष्मा से तप्त होकर हलकी होजाती है वा वाष्प से पूर्ण होकर हलकी होजाती है तो उसका दबाव कम होजाता है। कोष्ठ के पूर्ण होने से वा आँतों में वायु (Latus) वा मल के भरजाने से Diaphragm में गति क्रिया नहीं होसकती, अतः फुफ्फुस की वायु

और बाहर की वायु में दबाव की समता के लिये फुफ्फुस की वायु जितनी पहले बाहर जाती थी उसकी अपेक्षा अधिक बाहर जाने लगेगी। इस प्रकार प्राण की ऊर्ध्व गति होनेसे प्राण वायु कुपित कहाती है।

उदान वायु से गीत भाषण आदि कार्य होतेहैं (Larynx) स्वर यन्त्र इसका मुख्य स्थान है। स्वर यंत्र शोथ होने से मलों के अति स्राव या अस्राव से श्लेष्मा से कंठ के आवृत होजाने से उदान वायु कुपित होजाता है। स्वर यन्त्रकी पेशियों में लचक नहीं रहती कठोर, रूक्ष या शिथिल होजाती है। यथा विधि उपचार से उदानवायु कार्य कारी होजाता है।

समान वायु का कर्म आत्मी करण (assimilation) है। वह चेष्टा जो भोजन

के साथ पित्त को मिलाकर अवयवों को विश्लिष्ठ करके भोजन के रस को रक्त में पहुं चाती है समान वायु है।समान वायु के कुपित होजानेसेअजीर्ण अतिसार, मलबंध, प्रवाहिका आदि रोग उत्पन्न होजाते है।

किसी धातु, को धात्वन्तर में परिणत करना, यथा स्थान धातु को पहुंचाना व्यान वायु का कर्म है। इस व्यान वायु के कुपित होने से धातुओं का बनना रुकजाता है।

शरीर में external and internal secretion का कार्य अपान वायु का है। अपान वायु के कुपित होने से ग्रंथियों के कार्य मंद पड़जाते हैं शरीर का पोषण तथा शोधन मंद पड़जाते हैं। इस प्रकार वायु पंचधाविभक्त होकर तथाअनेक उपभेदों में विभक्त होकर शरीरको धारण कर रहाहै।

इसी प्रकार पित्त के भी पाचक, रंजक, साधक आलोचक, भ्राजक पांच गुण भेद हैं। आमाशय में गया हुआ अन्न आमाशयस्थ पाचक रस उदहरिकाम्ल Hcl से अम्लयुक्त होकर समान वायु के क्रम से ग्रहणी नाड़ी में गया हुआ अम्लीय प्रति क्रिया से यकृत् (liver) और क्लोम (pancreas) से पाचक पित्त को खींचता है। यह पाचक पित्त भुक्त द्रव्य का पाक करता है। रस दोष, मूत्र और पुरीष का विभाग करता है। अन्न रस रस बहा नाड़ी (Portal vein) के द्वारा यकृत में पहुंचता है यकृत और प्लीहा में (Hoem oglogim) रंजक पित्त तैयार होता है। इस रञ्जक पित्त से अन्न रस रञ्जित होकर महती अधः शिरा (Inferior venacava) द्वारा हृदय

में पहुंचताहै। हृदय में Pulmonary veinद्वारा फु-
फ्फुसमें पहुंचकर फिर Pulmonary artery द्वारा
हृदय में आजाता है। रञ्जक पित्त फुफ्फुस में
बाह्य वायु से प्रविष्ट हुए ओषजन (oxygen)
से मिलकर oxyhaemoglobin बनजाता है।
इसको रुधिर के श्वेतकण (white corpuscles)
चूसकर लाल कण बनजाते हैं। फुफ्फुस में
वर्तमान यह ओषजन साधकपित्त है, क्योंकि
रुधिर के कणों के साथ मिलकर शरीर में घूम
जाती हैं और आभष्ट मनोरथ को सिद्ध करती है
यह रक्त चक्षु में गया हुआ चक्षु के ताल(Lens)की
पारदर्शकता को रखता है। ताल की पारदर्शकता
को रखने वाला पित्त आलोचक पित्त कहाता है।

शरीर में रक्त संचार से फैला हुआ
साधक पित्त त्वचा में आकर त्वचा को उष्ण

रखता है। त्वचा पर लगाये हुये द्रव्यों को सुखाता है। त्वचा की कांति को रखने वाली त्वग्ग्रंथियों के स्रावों को बनाता है। त्वचा की कांति रखने वाला त्वग्ग्रंथियों का स्राव भ्राजक पित्त है।

इसी प्रकार सुश्रुत संहिता में श्लेष्मा के क्लेदन, अवलम्बन, रसन, स्नेहन, और श्लेषण पांच भेद किये हैं। आमाशय में प्रविष्ट हुये अन्न हर वर्षा के समान आमाशय की भित्ति से श्लेष्मा का स्राव होता है। इस श्लेष्मा की प्रति क्रिया से ग्रहणी में से भी आमाशय में पाचक रस पहुंचता है। ग्रहणी का और आमाशय का रस मिलकर उदासीन होजाते हैं, अम्ल या क्षार में नही रहते। यह मधुर रस अन्न के साथ मिलकर अन्न को मधुर और क्लिन्न करता है क्लिन्न करने के कारण ही क्लेदक श्लेष्मा कहाता है।

अन्न रस का कुछ श्लैष्मिक भाग लसी का वाहिनियां (Lymphtaic खेंच लेती है । वह भाग (Lymphatic clianal) के द्वारा वामजत्रु अस्थि और वक्षोस्थि की संधिके पास अनमिका शिरा (Innominate vein) में पहुंचता है। फिर फुफ्फुस में प्रविष्ट होकर उदक कर्म से उरस्थताप और घर्षण को उचित मात्रा में रखता है। इस प्रकार उरःस्थ श्लेष्मक ग्रंथियों को पूरण करता है। यह उरः स्थ श्लेष्मा फुफ्फुस हृदय और फुफ्फुसावर्णी कला और हृदयावर्णी कला को अवलम्बन करता है इस लिये अवलम्बन श्लेष्मा कहलाता है। जब जिह्वा सूख जाती है,फट जाती है और खुर्दरी हो जाती है तब रस का ज्ञान ठीक नहीं कर सकती। लाला ग्रन्थियां (Salivary Glands) श्लेष्मा का मुख कर के जिह्वा को आर्द्र रखती है। और रस ग्रहण में

समर्थ करती है। यह श्लेष्मा रसन है इस की कमी को पूर्ति रक्तस्थ श्लेष्मिक द्रव से होती है। रक्त संचार के द्वारा शिर में गया हुआ श्लेष्मा इन्द्रियों (Nerves) को संतर्पण करता है, सींचता है इस लिये स्नेहन कहलाता है। संधियों में स्थित श्लेष्मा संधियों को जोड़ता है इस लिये श्लेषण कहाता है। जब यह न हो वह कम हो तो संधिया सख्त, रूखो , सूखी हो जाती हैं उनमें गति नहीं हो सकती।

यह दोषों का भेद निरूपण लेख के अति विस्तार के भय से संक्षेप में ही समाप्त किया है।

आयुर्वेद के साथ षट् दर्शनों के दार्शनिक विचारों की तुलना

धर्म्मार्थ काम मोक्षाणःमारोग्यमूलमुत्तमम्।
रोगास्त स्यापहर्त्तार भयसो जीवितस्य च!

आयुः कामय मानेन धर्म्मार्थ सुख साधनम् ।
आयुर्वेदोपदेशेषु विधेयः परमादरः ॥

इस कथन के अनुसार धर्म, अर्थ औ सुख का साधन आयु है । आयु बिना आरोग्य के नहीं रह सकती । रोग आयु को हरते हैं । इस लिये आयुर्वेद की सहायता से स्वास्थ्य रक्षा और रोग चिकित्सा करनी चाहिये । जिस मनुष्य ने आयुर्वेद की आज्ञाओं का पालन करके अपनी आयु की रक्षा की और अपने को दीर्घ जीवी बनाया, उस मनुष्य को अपनी स्थिति उत्तम बनाने के लिये धन की कामना भी करनी होती है । बिना धन के दरिद्रतामय जीवन पाप मय जीवन है । यदि इस जन्म के अनन्तर कोई और जन्म नहीं होना और पहले भी जन्म नहीं था तो दीर्घायु और वित्तोपा-

जैन के लिये प्रयास व्यर्थ हैं क्यों कि जितना ही शीघ्र जीवन समाप्त हो जाय उतना ही अच्छा है। इस लिये यह संशय हुआ कि पुर्न जन्म होता है व नहीं। च०सू०अ० ११ में सत् और असत् के विषय की परीक्षा आप्तोपदेश प्रत्यक्ष अनुमान और युक्ति इन चार प्रमाणों से करनी लिखो है। न्याय दर्शन में " प्रत्यक्षानुमानोपमान शब्दाः प्रमाणानि., के अनुसर चार प्रमाण माने हैं। शब्द का लक्षण " आप्तोपदेशः शब्दः " लिखा है। जिन्होंने धर्म को साक्षात्कार लिया है जिन्हें संशय नहीं है उन ऋषियों को आप्त कहते हैं। उनका कथन सर्वदा सत्य ही होता है। च०सू०अ० ११ में कहा है।

रजस्तमोभ्यां निर्मुक्ता स्तपो ज्ञानबलेनैय।
मैषां त्रिकाल ममलं ज्ञान नव्याहतं सदा।

आप्ताः शिष्टा विबुद्धास्ते तेषां ज्ञानमसंशयम्।
सत्यं वक्ष्यन्ति ते कस्मादसत्यं नीरजस्तमाः ॥

न्याय दर्शन में प्रत्यक्ष का लक्षण " इन्द्रियार्थ सन्निकर्षोत्पन्नं ज्ञान मव्य पदेशम व्यभिचारि व्यवस्सायात्मकं प्रत्यक्षम् ,, किया है। और च०सू०अ० ११ में इस प्रकार किया है।

आत्मेन्द्रिय मनोऽर्थानां संन्निकर्षात्प्रवर्त्तते।
व्यक्ता तदात्वे या बुद्धिः प्रत्यक्षां सा निरुच्यते ॥

अव्यपदेश्य, अव्यभिचारि, और व्यवसायात्मक का भाव चरक ने व्यक्त शब्द से लिया है।

अनुमान का निरूपण चरक और न्याय दर्शन में एक जैसा है।

चरकाचार्य्य ने युक्ति शब्द न्याय दर्शन के लिये अच्छा चुना है। उपमान का लक्षण है—" प्रसिद्ध साधर्म्यात्साध्य साधनमुपमानम् "। समानो धर्मो येषां ते सधर्माणः तेषां भाव साधर्म्यम्। जिस वस्तुओं का एक ही आधार है अर्थात् मिल कर उसको बना रही है। उनके इस प्रसिद्ध भाव से साध्य का सिद्ध करना उपमान कहाता है। गो और गवय में जो प्रसिद्ध समान धर्म है जिसमें गो और गवय दोनों इकट्ठे है उसको लेकर साध्य गवय को सिद्ध करना उपमान कहाता है। च०सू० अ० ११ में युक्ति का लक्षण इस प्रकार किया है।

बुद्धि पश्यति या भावान् बहुकारणयोगजान्।
युक्ति स्त्रिकाला साज्ञेया त्रिवर्ग स्साध्यते यया॥

युक्ति उस बुद्धि को क ते है जो बहुत कारणों के मेल से उत्पन्न भावों को देखती है। इन प्रमाणों से च सू०अ० ११ मे पुन जन्म की अच्छी प्रकार परीक्षा की है।

चरक संहिता मे सत् असत् की परीक्षा के लिये जिस प्रचार प्रमाण नियत किये है। सुश्रुत संहिता अ० अर्द ५ में बत्तीस तन्त्रयुक्त वर्णन की। जिनसे परीक्षा की जाती है या वाक्य और अर्थो की योजना की जाती है। इन तन्त्र युक्तियों से प्रतिपक्षी के कथन का प्रतिषेध और अपने कथन की सिद्धि की जाती है। जो विषय शास्त्र में स्पष्ट है या नहीं कहे या अस्पष्ट है गूढ़ है व बीज रूप से कह दिये हैं उन सब जानने योग्य विषयों के प्रकाश करने के लिये ३२ तन्त्र युक्तियां हैं। यथा——

अधिकरण, योग, पदार्थ, हेत्वर्थ, उद्देश, निर्देश, उपदेश, अपदेश, प्रदेश, अतिदेश अपवर्ग, वाक्य शेष, अर्थापत्ति, विपर्य्यय, प्रसंग, एकांत, अनेकांत पूर्वपक्ष, निर्णय, अनुमत, विधान, अनागतावेक्षण, अतिक्रान्तावेक्षण, संशय, व्याख्यान, स्वसंज्ञा, निर्वचन, निदर्शन, विकल्प, समुच्चय, उह्य।

च०वि०अ० ८ में वाद (बहस) कैसे करनी चाहिये यह अच्छी प्रकार दिखाया है। इसमें ५० पदों और १० प्रकरणों का कथन है। इनसे परीक्ष्य की परीक्षा की जाती है। जिनमें चारों प्रमाण भी आगये हैं। यथा वाद, द्रव्य, गुण, कर्म्म, सामान्यं, विशेषः, समवाय, प्रतिज्ञा, स्थापना, प्रतिष्ठापना, हेतु, उपनय, निगमनम्, उत्तरम्, दृष्टान्त

सिद्धांतः , शब्दः , प्रत्यक्षम्, औपम्यम्, ऐतिह्यम्, अनुमानम्, संशय, प्रयोजनम्, सव्य भिचारम्, जिज्ञासा, व्यवसाय, अर्थ प्राप्ति, संभवः, अनुयोज्यम्, अनुयोगः, प्रत्यनुयोगः , वाक्य न्यूनता, वाक्या धिक्यम् अनर्थकः, अपार्थकः विरुद्धः, वाक्य प्रशंसा, वाकछलम्, समान्य छलम्, प्रकरण समः संशयसमः , वर्ण्यसमः , अनीत कालम् , उपालम्भः , परिहारः , प्रतिज्ञा हानिः , अभ्नुज्ञा हेत्वन्तरम् , अर्थान्तरम् , निग्रह स्थानम् । ये ५० पद हैं ।

कारण, करण, कार्य्ययोनि, कार्य्य, कार्य्य फल, अनुबन्ध, देश, काल, प्रवृत्ति, ये दस प्रकरण, हैं ।

इस परीक्षा में विशेष करके चरका चार्य्योक्त परीक्षा में न्याय दर्शन के १५ पदार्थ और गौ-

शेषिक दर्शन के छः पदार्थ पूर्णतया सम्मिलित हैं। चरक संहिता का प्रमेय निरूपण न्याय दर्शन से विशेषतया और कुछ वैशेषिक से मिलता है।

च०सू०अ० १ में आयु का लक्षण करते हैं।

शरीरेन्द्रियसत्वात्मसंयोगो धारिजीवितम।
नित्यगश्चानुबन्धश्च पर्याय में रापुरुच्यते॥

शरीर, इन्द्रिय, मन और आत्माका संयोग उचित अवस्था में दीर्घ काल तक बना रहे इसी लिये चिकित्सा शास्त्र की प्रवृत्ति है।

इसी स्थान में वैशेशिक कोल द्रव्य, गुण, कर्म, सामान्य विशेष, समवाय इन पदार्थों का

निरूपण है। ये द्रव्य रोग, भेषज और चिकित्सा कर्म का आश्रय होने और प्रमाणों करके परीक्ष्य होने से प्रभेद हैं।

च० सू० अ० २५ में द्रव्य दो प्रकार के बताये हैं—एक चेतन, दूसरे जड़। ये पांच भूत हैं इनके २० गुण हैं। यथा—

गुरु लघु शीत उष्ण, स्निग्ध, रूक्ष, मन्द, तीक्ष्ण, स्थिर; सर, मृदु, कठिन, विशद, पिच्छिल,

श्लेष्ण, खर, सूक्ष्म, स्थूल, सान्द्र, द्रव।

पांच कर्म हैं—वमन, विरेचन, स्नेहन, स्वेदन, बस्ति।

द्रव्य अपने प्रभाव से अथवा अपने गुण के प्रभाव से अथवा दोनों के प्रभाव से उचित

पर उस २ अधिष्ठान और उस २ योग को प्राप्त करके जो २ कार्य्य करते हैं उस २ कार्य को कर्म कहते हैं। जिसके द्वारा उस कार्य्य का सम्पादन होता है उसे वीर्य कहते हैं। जिस समय वह कार्य किया जाता है। उसे काल कहते हैं। जिस तरह किया जाता है उसे उपाय कहते हैं और उस कर्म के द्वारा जो प्रयोजन सिद्ध होता है उसे फल कहते हैं। इस प्रकार द्रव्य, गुण, कर्म, के साथ आयुर्वेद में वीर्य, काल, उपाय और फल ये पदार्थ भी माने गये हैं।

आयुर्वेद में द्रव्यों के २० गुण उनके कार्य्य की दृष्टि से माने गये हैं, परन्तु इनके साथ १० गुण और भी माने गये हैं जो चिकित्सा की सफलता के उपाय हैं। वे इस प्रकार हैं—
कर्म, साम,

पर, अपर, युक्ति, संख्या, संयोग, पृथक्त्व, परिणाम, संस्कार, अभ्यास। इनके बिना चिकि-त्सा ठीक नहीं चलती।

चिकित्सा बहुत कुछ भूतों से उत्पन्न रसों को ध्यान में रख कर होती है। इस लिये द्रव्यादि छः पदार्थों के अतिरिक्त छः रस द्रव्यों के आश्रित स्वीकार किये हैं। भिन्न २ रस वाले द्रव्य शरीर में पकते हुए उसी रस वाले द्रव्य शरीर में पकते हुए उसी रस वाले नहीं रहते जो उनका रस पहिले होता है। पाकके अनन्तर जो रस उत्पन्न होताहै उसको विपाक कहतेहैं। इस विपाकको भी स्वीकार करना पड़ा क्यों कि इसके अनुसार द्रव्य का प्रभाव शरीर पर देखा जाता है। परन्तु बहुत से द्रव्य ऐसे हैं जिनका प्रभाव गुण, रस, वीर्य

पाक किसी के अनुसार कल्पना नहीं किया जा सकता, अतः उन द्रव्यों का विचित्र प्रभाव पदार्थ की भी कल्पना करनी पड़ी। क्यों कि जैसे चीता (चित्रक) और दन्ती दोनों रस और पाक में कटु हैं, उष्ण वीर्य हैं। परन्तु दन्ती प्रभाव से रेचन करती है चित्रक नहीं।

सामान्य और विशेष पदार्थ भी चरक ने स्वीकार किये हैं।। सामान्य वृद्धि का कारण है और विशेष ह्रास का कारण है क्यों कि सामान्य एकता वा मिलाप को करने वाला है और विशेष भेद डालने वाला है।

वात पित्त श्लेष्मा और पञ्च भूतों का सम्बन्ध, यूं तो दिखाया ही जा चुका है। परन्तु आयु-

पञ्च महा भूतों के विचार तक ही नहीं रह गया, साख्यसिद्धांत के अनुसार मूल प्रकृति तक पहुंचा है। सुश्रुत शरीर स्थान अध्याय १ में सांख्य के २५ तत्वों का विस्तृत निरूपण किया है। इसी में प्रकृति और पुरुष का साधर्म्य वैधर्म्य निरूपण किया है। पुरुष, प्रकृति दोनों को सर्वाकृत कहा है। पुरुष अर्थात् जीवात्मा सर्वगत होते हुए भी अनेक स्वीकार किये हैं। परन्तु कर्म पुरुष जो पंच महाभूत शरीरि समवाय माना है वह असर्वगत है नित्य है इस कर्म पुरुष के १६ गुण कहे हैं।

सुख, दुःख, इच्छा द्वेष, प्रयत्न, प्राण, अपान, उन्मेष, निमेष, बुद्धि, मन, संकल्प, विचारणा स्मृति; अध्यवसाय, विषभोग, लब्धि।

यह कर्म पुरुष पुण्य कर्मों के प्रभाव से वेदनाओं को दूर करता है। आत्मा, इन्द्रिय, मन और अर्थों के सन्निकर्ष से वेदना उत्पन्न होती हैं। जब मन बिना किसी कार्य की प्रवृत्ति के आत्मा में स्थिति हो जाता है तब सुख दुःख दोनों की निवृत्ति हो जाती है। योगियों का अतुबल प्राप्त होता है। तब रज और तम के अभाव से, बलवान कर्मों के क्षय हो जाने से मोक्ष मिलता है, इसी को कर्म संयोग का छूटना वा अपुनर्भाव कहते हैं ।

मोक्षो रजस्तमोऽभावा द्बलवपूत्कर्म संक्षयात ।
वियोगः कर्म संयोगै रपुनर्भाव उच्यते ॥

इससे परे भूतात्मा ब्रह्म में मिल जाता है, उसकी प्राप्ति नहीं होती। सम्पूर्ण भावों से दूर

होने पर उसका कोई विशेष चिन्ह नहीं रहता। ब्रह्म वेताओं की गति ब्रह्म है, न वह नाश को प्राप्त होती है और न उसका कोई लक्षण है। ब्रह्मवेता-ओं के ज्ञान को अज्ञ लोग नहीं जान सकते।

अतः परं ब्रह्म भूतो भूतात्मा नोपलभ्यते।
निःसृतः सर्व भावेभ्यः चिन्हं यस्य नविद्यते।
गति ब्रह्मविदां ब्रह्म तच्चाक्षरमलक्षणम्।
ज्ञानं ब्रह्म विदाञ्चान्न नाज्ञस्तज्ज्ञातु मर्हति॥

यह वेदांत दर्शन के अनुसार जीवात्मा का परमात्मा में लय माना है। वेदांत दर्शन एक आत्मा--सर्वगत कारण शरीरोपाधि से सुख दुःखादि का देखने वाला है। परन्तु आयुर्वेद में अनेक जीवात्मा सर्वगत माने हैं। यहां वेदांत से आयुर्वेद का मत भेद है॥

—उपसंहार—

इस प्रकार आयुर्वेद जीवन रक्षा और दीर्घजीवन के उपायों को बताता हुआ मनुष्य को मोक्ष का अधिकारी बना कर संसारसे मुक्ति दिलाताहै प्रवृत्ति मार्गका निरूपणभी इसमें निवृत्तिमार्ग केलिये है

इस प्रकार आयुर्वेद के दार्शनिकतत्व को उन्नत और दृढ़ किया जाय तो किसी विदेशीय व एतद्देशीय चिकित्सक को हिम्मत नहीं पड़ सकती कि आयुर्वेद के लिये कोई अपमान जनक शब्द भी बोले। इस लिये आयुर्वेद की पताका को संसार में उज्वल करने के लिये अपने आप को वैद्य कहलाने वाले प्रत्येक मनुष्य का कर्तव्य है कि आयर्वेद के दार्शनिक तत्व को उज्वल करके विदेशीयों के सामने रक्खे। इससे सर्वत्र भूगोल में आयुर्वेद की जय मनाई जावेगी ॥

powers who held overseas possessions, Britain treated her colonial market as a monopoly The colonial system had been carefully worked out in Stuart times,[1] when Charles II's Navigation Act (1660) had been passed The colonists had to import manufactured goods—e g woollen and hardware articles—from Britain, and not from other countries On the other hand the coffee, sugar, rice, and tobacco consumed in Britain could only be bought in the British colonial market This colonial code, as even its greatest critic (Adam Smith) admitted, was considerably less harsh than the colonial systems of other European states It brought great benefits to the colonies, as well as disabilities, as they well knew, but they were prone to accept the benefits and chafe under the disabilities. They smuggled goods from France, Spain, or the Spanish colonies whenever they found it convenient to do so What was required was a careful and friendly consideration of a system already more than a century old, and by this time in need of adjustment, what happened was a series of unfortunate quarrels, leading to a final and complete rupture

Effects of the Conquest of Canada 1763

The overthrow of the French power in Canada was a turning-point in the history of America It was prophesied at the time[2] that, now all fear of the French was removed, the American colonists would break away from Britain, they would bring to an end a state of dependence which some of them had long resented and which they now felt to be no longer necessary

George Grenville

These prophecies were speedily fulfilled The peace with France was signed in 1763, in the same year George Grenville, whose fate it was to begin the quarrel with America, became Prime Minister of Great Britain Grenville, who had no suspicion of the storm he was about to arouse, began by tightening up the old commercial system (1764), he enforced the Navigation Acts, whose working had become lax, and made some attempt to put down colonial smuggling, by which the Acts were evaded Next, he proposed to station a force of 10,000 men in America (a quarter of this force to go to the West Indies, the remainder to the Thirteen Colonies) for the defence of the colonies against a possible French attack and against the Red Indians Rather less than half of the cost of this defence force,

[1] See above, Chapter XXII [2] See above, p 608

Stamp Act 1765

he suggested, should be borne by the colonists, and raised by a stamp duty on legal documents He gave the colonists a year to consider the matter, the Stamp Act was not passed through the British Parliament till 1765.

Opposition to the Stamp Act

There was nothing at all unreasonable in Grenville's proposal, the tax was light, and it was proposed to spend the revenue derived from it, not in England, but on the defence of America Nevertheless, the tax aroused a storm of opposition in America, and, in fact, could not be collected The colonists denied the right of the British Parliament, sitting at Westminster, to impose 'internal' taxes They raised the cry· 'No taxation without representation', but, in fact, they did not really wish to be represented in the Westminster Parliament, nor, in eighteenth-century travelling conditions, would such a thing have been practicable for a country 3,000 miles away The main effect of the proposed taxation was to create a united opposition in America, delegates from nine of the thirteen colonies met at New York (1765) to protest against the Stamp Act.

Scarcely any one in Britain was prepared for this opposition, and to Grenville himself it came as a surprise He resigned next year, owing to differences with the king, and Lord Rockingham succeeded him Rockingham's policy was largely influenced by Burke, who sympathized with the colonists Pitt also spoke against the Stamp Act, and the government decided to repeal it. At the same time, however, a Declaratory Act was passed, saying that Great Britain had the *right* to tax the colonies The wisdom of this last step was at least doubtful But, in any case, much harm had been done, henceforth any attempt at interference on the part of Britain was likely to meet with a renewed opposition.

Repeal of the Stamp Act, 1766

Next year, when the so-called Chatham Ministry was in power, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Charles Townshend, decided to increase the revenue by levying a tax on tea, and on certain manufactured articles (chiefly glass and paper) entering American ports (American Import Duties Act) This Act met with the same reception in America as Grenville's proposal. There were riots in many colonial towns, especially in Boston, the capital of Massachusetts, which from now on

American Import Duties Act 1767

took the lead in opposing the British Government Four thousand British troops were quartered in Boston—nearly a quarter of the number of the civil population At home, Parliament passed resolutions condemning the disloyalty shown in Massachusetts, and an address was sent to the king thanking him for the measures he had taken to safeguard Britain's interests

Attitude of British statesmen

But British statesmen were by no means united in their view. Burke warned the Government that it was proceeding on a perilous course, and Chatham spoke against the policy of taxing the colonies 'I rejoice', he said, 'that America has resisted' In the Cabinet Grafton had succeeded Chatham as nominal head of the ministry, and North had succeeded Townshend as Chancellor of the Exchequer Grafton was in favour of abolishing all the recent taxes, but after a debate the Cabinet decided to retain that on tea (March 1770) Thus the whole question remained unsettled

George III and Lord North, 1770

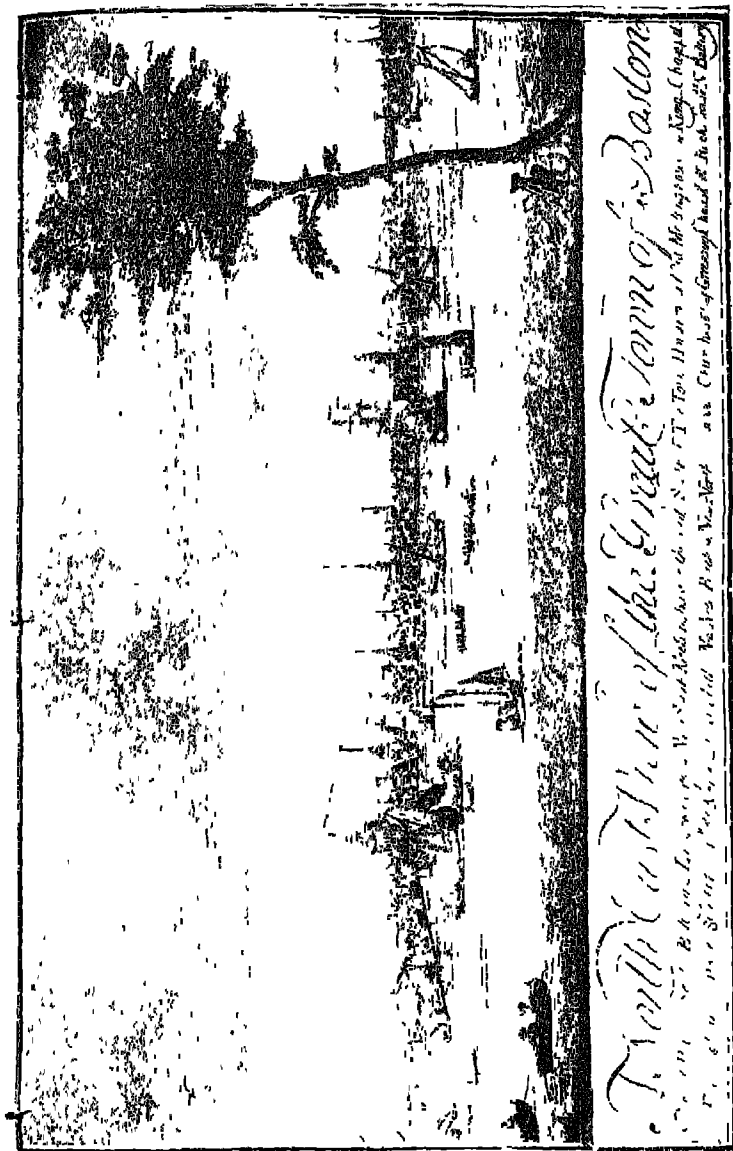
In the same year North succeeded Grafton, and the personal government of George III began The minister was too weak-willed and easy-going to resist the commands of his royal master, and the king himself assumed the chief responsibility for dealing with the colonists His unbending temper was soon brought face to face with the equally unbending attitude of his overseas subjects In 1773 North introduced a new Tea Act.

Tea Act 1773

Hitherto the East India Company had been compelled to sell its wares by public auction in London, merchants, English and American, had then had the handling of the tea. The new Act allowed the Company to send its tea direct to America and sell it there, and so crush the private dealers The fact that the Act (by granting the Company a refund of British duties) would halve the price of tea to American consumers was not sufficient to outweigh the hatred of the Company's monopoly Hostile demonstrations were held, and in Boston Harbour a party of men disguised as Red Indians boarded the East India Company's ships and threw the chests of tea into the sea The news of this 'Boston Tea Party' was received with rage in England

Boston Tea Party, 1773

Acts against Massachusetts 1774

The Government at once adopted strong measures The port of Boston was declared closed, and a Massachusetts

THE AMERICAN COLONIES

A view of the 'great town' of Boston about 1720

Government Act was passed, which practically annulled the charter (1774) In the same year the Quebec Act extended the boundary of Canada to the Ohio, and granted to the French Canadians the free exercise of their religion (as Roman Catholics). Several of the colonies had harsh laws in force against Roman Catholics, so that this concession to the Canadians, tolerant and statesmanlike as it was, gave great offence, especially to the Puritans of Massachusetts In the same year the first American Congress, representing all the thirteen states except Georgia, met at Philadelphia The delegates declared for a general stoppage of trade with Britain until grievances should be redressed At the same time they forwarded a protest to the British Government and demanded the repeal of the recent Acts

Quebec Act, 1774

First American Congress 1774

Next year the first blood was shed General Gage, in command of the British troops in Boston, sent out some men to prevent the colonists collecting military stores There was some firing between the British regulars and the colonial militia at Lexington and Concord After this the British did not venture out of Boston, for the whole of Massachusetts was in complete revolt

Lexington 1775

Second American Congress 1775

Meanwhile a second American Congress was held, and a petition, known as the Olive Branch Petition, was sent to King George, containing an offer to return to the position of 1763, but denying the legislative power of the British Parliament The King and the Cabinet, however, were now bent on coercing the rebels and, indeed, preparations for war were already far advanced on the American side The same Congress which sent the Olive Branch Petition appointed Colonel Washington, who had seen some service in the Seven Years War, as General and Commander-in-Chief of the American Army George Washington was a Virginian planter, a man of quiet tastes and averse from publicity But he was also a man of inflexible will, one who was incapable of turning his back on a task to which he had devoted himself His acceptance of the command did much to rally Virginia and the Southern States to the side of New England, where the centre of the revolt lay The appointment of General Washington was in itself a considerable step towards the achievement of victory

George Washington

3 *The War of American Independence*

The British army which was sent out to reconquer the rebellious colonies was under the command of Sir William Howe, a soldier of no particular ability. Howe took up his quarters at Boston, bringing 10,000 reinforcements to the troops already there. Soon after his arrival the first main engagement of the war took place. The town of Boston was built on a peninsula, connected with the mainland by a narrow isthmus called Boston Neck. But the Neck and the town itself were dominated by the Charlestown Hills and Dorchester Heights. The Americans seized a position near Bunker Hill. Howe now drove them from this position but they retired in good order.

General Howe

Bunker Hill 1775

Meanwhile the Americans tried to invade Canada, and sent a force up the Hudson and Lake Champlain route. This army arrived at Quebec, and delivered an attack, which, however, was beaten off by Sir Guy Carleton, the energetic Governor of Canada. The failure of this expedition decided the fate of Canada.

Invasion of Canada 1775

Washington, during the latter part of 1775, had taken command of the American army before Boston. Howe permitted him to occupy Dorchester Heights which, like Bunker Hill, overlooked the town, which the Americans proceeded to bombard. After this Howe was compelled to evacuate Boston, which he did, bringing off his troops by sea to Halifax (Nova Scotia), March 1776.

Evacuation of Boston 1776

In the same year the third American Congress met at Philadelphia and drew up the famous Declaration of Independence (4 July 1776). The Declaration summed up the case for independence in the following words:

The Third American Congress

'We hold these truths to be self-evident:—"That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundations on such principles ... as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness".'

Declaration of Independence 4 July, 1776

Then came the declaration

'that these United colonies are, and of right ought to be, Free and Independent States, that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved '

The scene of the war, meanwhile, had shifted to the Middle Colonies Howe landed on Long Island, and drove Washington's army from its defensive position there, after which the British occupied New York, which they held for the rest of the war Howe also took Philadelphia, but he did not follow up his success by pursuing the American army westward Washington and his army settled down at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, for the winter The American army numbered rather less than 4,000 men, Howe's forces were at least 10,000 The British general seemed to be quite unaware of the desperate straits to which the Americans were reduced, but which we can read of in Washington's dispatches His men were almost destitute of supplies 'few men (he wrote) have more than one shirt, many only the moiety of one, and some none at all' A large proportion of the men were barefoot, so that 'their marches might be traced by the blood from their feet' There was never enough to eat, the men, ill clothed and half starving, had to endure the fierce cold of December in this appalling condition Half the army melted away—from sickness or desertion. But the remainder held on, faithful to their general, who never gave up hope in the darkest hour It says much for the character and perseverance of Washington that he was able to maintain an army in the field under these conditions He was saved by the incompetence of the British general, which matched, if anything could match, the incompetence of the colonial authorities in providing food and clothing for their own men

New York taken, 1776

Washington at Valley Forge, 1776–7

It is certain that, had the British possessed a general with initiative, Washington's starving army might easily have been wiped out at Valley Forge The Americans were fortunate, not only in having George Washington as a general, but in having no one of the same quality to oppose him. In 1777 the British made a grave miscalculation, which decided the issue of the

war It was determined to send an army southward from Canada, under General Burgoyne, to join forces with Howe It was essential to the success of this plan that a detachment of Howe's army should come northwards from New York to meet Burgoyne But instead of effecting a junction with Burgoyne, Howe employed all his men in fighting a campaign in the Middle Colonies There he won the battle of Brandywine Creek and captured Philadelphia (Sept) Meanwhile, when Burgoyne advanced down the Hudson valley, he found himself surrounded by a hostile population, and by a rapidly increasing American army His position, without reinforcements, was hopeless, and the reinforcements never came He therefore surrendered with his whole force of 3,500 men at Saratoga, 17 October 1777

Burgoyne's army

Surrender of Saratoga 1777

The news of Saratoga was received in Europe at Christmas. It at once decided the French government to take up the cause of the colonists, and to form an alliance with them. In 1778, therefore, Britain and France were at war The effect of this was decisive, since the French Navy opened an attack on the West Indies, which had to be defended at the same time as the French hampered our communications with the mainland of America The actual fighting force sent by France to America was of little use till nearly the end of the war, but the French naval action crippled Britain and made it impossible for her to reconquer the colonies Further, American privateers also attacked British ships, and one adventurous captain, Paul Jones, even landed on the coast of Scotland, and then captured two British ships off Scarborough (1778)

France declares war, 1778

Paul Jones

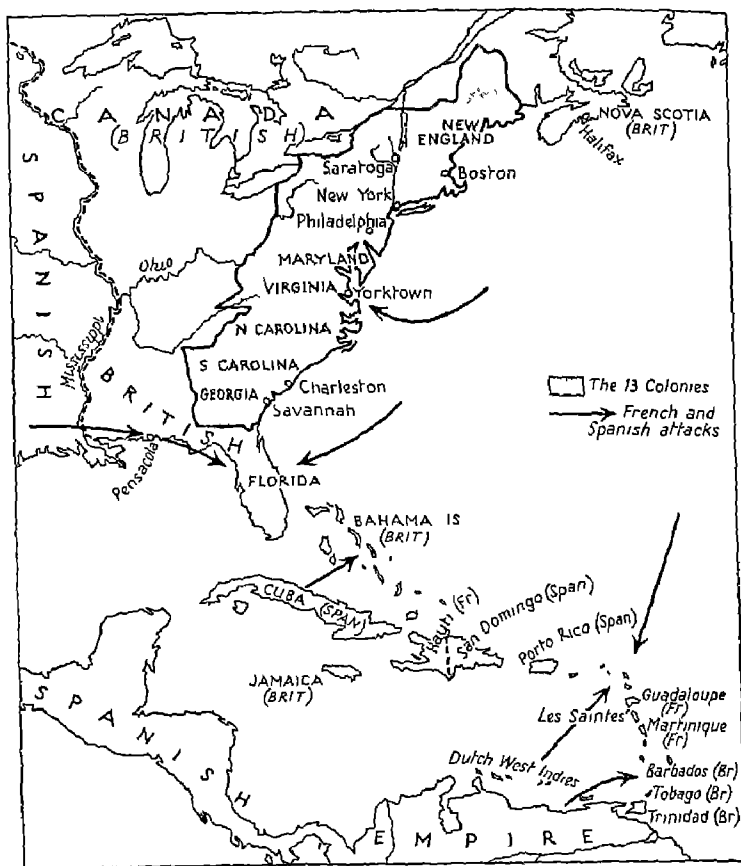
In the midst of these calamities died William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, who had lived to see the Empire, which he had raised to the first place in the world, brought to the verge of disruption, and the enemy, whom he had struck so low, rise up again to take her revenge

Death of Chatham 1778

Next year (1779) Spain joined France, and the two powers attacked Britain in the Mediterranean, where Gibraltar and Minorca were besieged The French also sent a fleet to attack Britain in India,[1] and in 1780 Holland joined the ranks of our foes Britain, therefore, had to fight this Maritime War against

The Maritime War 1778–83

[1] See below, Chapter XXXIV

the other naval powers of Europe, to defend Gibraltar, the West Indies, and India, and at the same time to carry on the war

WAR OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE AND THE MARITIME WAR

against the colonists In these circumstances it is scarcely surprising that she lost the Thirteen Colonies Disputes also arose with other European powers over the question of the rights of neutrals Neutral powers claimed that they had a

right to trade with belligerents and that neutral ships could carry any goods save certain 'contraband of war', specified by treaty The British Navy searched ships for contraband and sometimes went farther and tried to interfere with peaceful trade, and so extend blockade law beyond its natural limits Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and other states now bound themselves together in an Armed Neutrality, threatening to declare war if their rights as neutrals were not respected

The Armed Neutrality

In America, Howe was superseded by Sir Henry Clinton, who decided to extend the war into the southern colonies Charleston, the capital of South Carolina, was captured, and Lord Cornwallis, who was in charge of the campaigns, won several battles in North and South Carolina (1780) In spite of these successes, however, Cornwallis was not strong enough to hold the southern colonies Next year he advanced to Yorktown, in Virginia, with 7,000 men Washington was now joined by a French army under General de Rochambeau, and these allies laid siege to Yorktown At the same time, a French fleet, under Admiral de Grasse, entered Chesapeake Bay, and blockaded Yorktown from the sea Cornwallis, thus cut off from help by water, was besieged on land by a Franco-American army which outnumbered his by more than 2 to 1 His position was hopeless, and in October 1781 he surrendered

War in the Southern Colonies

Surrender of Yorktown, 1781

4 *The End of the Old Empire*

The long tale of disaster from America was received month by month by a despondent British nation The king became very unpopular, in 1780 the Commons carried a motion that the 'influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished' It was at the beginning of the same year that London was for four days at the mercy of a wild anti-Catholic mob, led by a crack-brained fanatic called Lord George Gordon The Gordon Riots were caused by the introduction of a Bill in Parliament, providing some relief for the Roman Catholics Wild scenes were enacted, shops, factories, and breweries were broken into or destroyed—the last with baleful effect on the mob—while Catholic chapels were burnt to the ground The riots were at last quelled by the personal intervention of the king, who took the responsibility of ordering

The Gordon Riots, 1780

the military to charge on the mob These disgraceful scenes revealed the undercurrent of savagery which lay beneath the surface of eighteenth-century London, then unprotected by a proper police force

The fall of Yorktown ended the war in America, even the king began to see that further hostilities against the colonists would be useless Lord North insisted on resigning (1782) It was a bitter moment for the king, and for a short time he talked of abdicating his crown and retiring to Hanover There was nothing to do but call in the Whigs, whose avowed purpose it was to end the war and recognize the independence of America George III, therefore, reluctantly consented to Lord Rockingham's forming a ministry

Resignation of North 1782

Meanwhile, the war against France and Spain was continued, and some welcome victories saved what remained of the British Empire Though Minorca fell (1782), the French and Spaniards failed to take Gibraltar, which was brilliantly defended by its commander, Sir George Eliott Equally cheering was the great victory ('Battle of the Saints') won by Admiral Rodney over the French off the islands of Les Saintes, near Dominica, in the West Indies, which restored British naval power in the Atlantic (1782) In the following year it fell to the Whig ministry to make a general peace [1]

Rodney's naval victory 1782

Rockingham Ministry 1782

During the short Rockingham Ministry (February–July 1782) Burke's Economic Reform Bill was passed, by means of which the number of sinecures given to 'placemen' in the House of Commons was drastically cut down At last a blow was struck at the power by which the Whigs themselves had formerly ruled England, and which George III had employed for the past twenty-two years Fox, the greatest of the Whig ministers, wished to go farther and abolish the rotten boroughs, but he could not carry his party with him, his violent opposition to the king's personal influence also earned him the hatred of George III When Rockingham died (July 1782), therefore, George gave the premiership, not to Fox, but to Lord Shelburne Fox and Burke thereupon resigned from the Cabinet

Shelburne Ministry 1782–3

[1] The Shelburne Ministry negotiated the treaty and signed the preliminaries the final treaty was signed by the Fox–North Ministry (see Chapter XXXI)

Shelburne, who held office for a year, was a Whig, but was regarded by the king as the lesser of two evils, the greater being Fox The new Premier was a man of exceptional ability, but he did not inspire confidence, his enemies nicknamed him the 'Jesuit of Berkeley Square' The chief work of his ministry was to make a general peace with all our enemies

Treaty of Versailles 1783

By the First[1] Treaty of Versailles, the war was brought to an end on the following terms

1. Great Britain acknowledged the independence of the United States of America She secured a promise that Congress should recommend to the various states the restoration of property confiscated from the Loyalists But this 'recommendation' was ignored by the States, and the Loyalists were vindictively persecuted by the Americans Many of them sought new homes in Canada and Nova Scotia [2]
2. The boundary between Canada and the U S A was fixed at its present line, and not (as in 1774[3]) at the line of the Ohio The boundary west of the Great Lakes was left for future determination.
3. France received back her West African settlements Goree and Senegal, and the islands of Tobago and St Lucia in the West Indies
4. Spain received Florida and Minorca, which she had lost in 1763 and 1713 respectively

End of the Mercantile Empire

The year 1783 thus marked the point at which the two main branches of the Anglo-Saxon race came to the parting of the ways. For Great Britain, this meant the end of a colonial policy pursued through a century and a half of commercial competition and war. The Old Colonial Empire had fallen, and the new Empire which was gradually built up to take its place developed on different lines In the opinion of an American historian, the first British Empire 'was doomed to be broken asunder, but it was brought to that disaster by the insistent demand of Englishmen in America for the full enjoyment of those liberties which England fostered beyond any other country in the world'

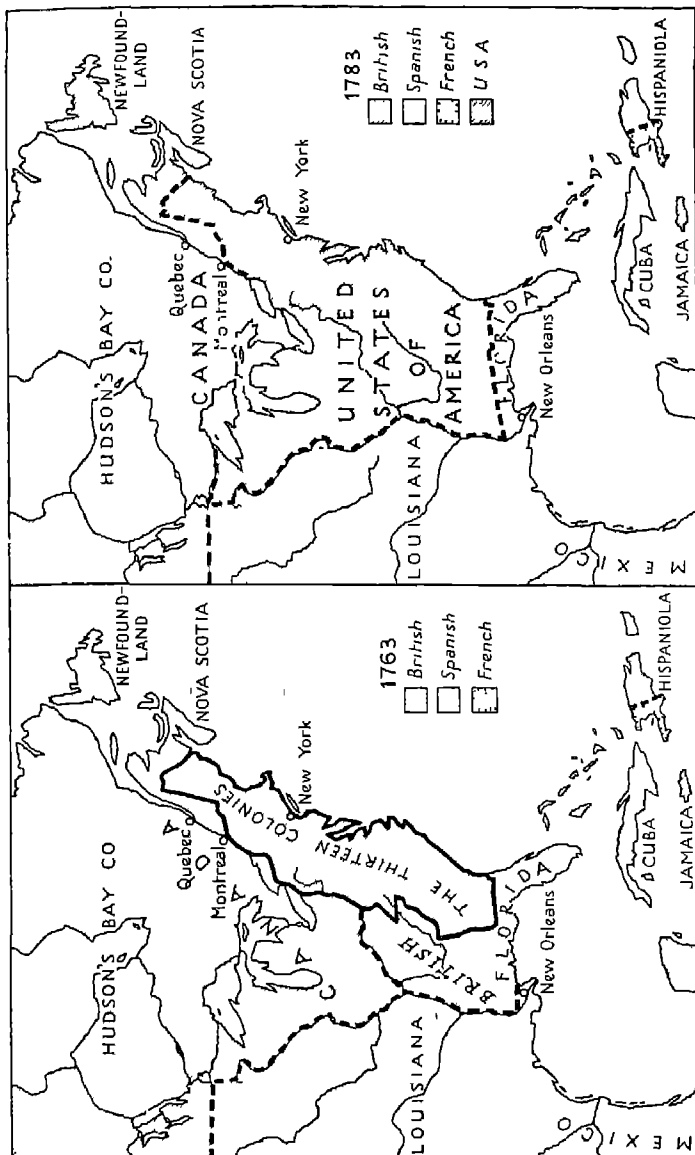
[1] The Second Treaty of Versailles (1919) ended the Great War

[2] See below, Chapter XXXIV [3] See above, p 628

The U S A For our former colonies, now the United States, independent development was just beginning 'Great difficulties lay ahead of the infant American nation That America survived, and became a great Power, was due in the first instance to the guiding hand of George Washington, and his friend Alexander Hamilton In 1787 a Convention met to draw up the constitution of the United States, Washington was chosen as the first President He first took office in 1789,[1] the year in which the French Revolution burst upon Europe. While this storm was raging in the Old World, Washington and his advisers had the hard task of trying to weld thirteen different and differing states into a nation

In Britain, the loss of the colonies meant, as we have seen, the end of the personal government of George III It could not be expected that the sovereign under whose rule the British Empire had been split in two could any longer retain the confidence of his subjects Fits of insanity, which increased in duration as the years went by, clouded George III's declining years, and though he emerged once or twice into the political arena (as when he forbade the granting of religious freedom to Ireland), he never again became the formidable figure he once had been. Soon the chief power passed into the hands of Chatham's son, the young William Pitt, under whose leadership Britain was governed for close on twenty years It was during those years that Britain built up a new commercial prosperity, regained her position as the first power in Europe, and laid the foundations of a new Empire

New era in British history begins

[1] The President's term of office is four years Washington served two periods of four years, but refused to serve a third term, an example which has been followed by all his successors

1763 1783

10 NORTH AMERICA

DATE SUMMARY: WAR AND EMPIRE (1756–83)

BRITAIN	AMERICA AND INDIA	EUROPE
	SEVEN YEARS WAR (1756–63)	
1756 Newcastle resigns	1756 Montcalm in Canada	1756 French take Minorca
1756–7 Devonshire Ministry		
1757 Execution of Admiral Byng		
1757–61 PITT-NEWCASTLE MINISTRY	1757 ⚔ Plassey CONQUEST OF BENGAL	1757 ⚔ Rossbach
	1758 Louisbourg and Fort Duquesne	
	1759 FALL OF QUEBEC	1759 ⚔ Quiberon
1760 George II *d*	1760 Fall of Montreal ⚔ Wandewash	1760 Russians enter Berlin Rousseau's *Contrat Social*
1760–1820 George III		
	1761 Fall of Pondicherry	
1761 Pitt resigns		1762 England at war with Spain
1762 Newcastle resigns		1762–96 Catherine the Great (Russia)
1762–3 Bute Ministry	1763 TREATY OF PARIS ends Seven Years War	
	THE QUARREL WITH AMERICA (1763–75)	
1763–5 Grenville Ministry		
1764 Wilkes' Case Hogarth *d* Hargreaves Spinning Jenny	1764 ⚔ Buxar	
1765–6 Rockingham Ministry	1765 Treaty of Allahabad	
	1765 STAMP ACT	
1766 *The Vicar of Wakefield*	1765–7 Clive in India (3rd visit)	
1766–8 Chatham Ministry	1766 Repeal of Stamp Act	
	1767 American Import Duties Act	
1768–70 Grafton Ministry	1768–79 Cook's Pacific Voyages	
1768–9 Middlesex Election (Wilkes)		
1768 *Royal Academy*		
1769 Burke's *Present Discontents* Watt's Steam Engine Garrick's Shakespeare Festival		
1770 Wordsworth born	1770 BOTANY BAY	
1770–82 North Ministry	1773 Boston 'Tea Party' North's Regulating Act (India)	1772 First Partition of Poland
	1774 Quebec Act	1774–92 Louis XVI
	AMERICAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE (1775–83)	
	1774–85 WARREN HASTINGS	
	1775 ⚔ Bunker Hill	
1776 Gibbon's *Decline and Fall* Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*	1776 DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE	
	1777 Saratoga	
1778 Chatham *d*	1778–83 Maritime War	1778 Voltaire *d*
1780 Gordon Riots Irish Commercial laws repealed		1780 Empress Maria Theresa *d*
	1781 Surrender of Yorktown	
1782 North resigns	1782 'Battle of the Saints' (Rodney)	
1782 (Feb –July) Rockingham Ministry Irish Parliament		
1782–3 Shelburne Ministry		
1783 (Apr –Dec) Fox–North Coalition		
1783 (Dec) William Pitt, Pr Min	1783 TREATY OF VERSAILLES ends war with France, Spain, and America	

XXIX

THE AGE OF WESLEY AND DR JOHNSON

1 *The Writers*

ENGLAND in the eighteenth century was a land of strange contrasts, and if we look at it through the eyes of the men whose names stand at the head of this chapter we shall see two very different worlds. Paradoxically enough, Johnson, who was uncouth in manners and appearance, moved in a highly cultivated society, Wesley, who was a man of far greater polish than Johnson, passed most of his long life in scenes of squalor and human suffering Let us glance first at Dr Johnson's England

The reigns of Anne and the first three Georges, which fill the eighteenth century, were notable for a remarkable growth in both the power and the volume of the printed word At the death of George I there were three daily and five weekly newspapers in London, and by the middle of the century every important provincial town had its local newspaper The *Gentleman's Magazine*, for long a most popular weekly publication, first appeared in 1731 'The people of Great Britain', said a writer in 1738, 'are governed by a power that never was heard of as a supreme authority in any age or country before It is the government of the Press. The sentiments of these scribblers have more weight with the multitude than the opinion of the best politician in the kingdom '[1] This, it must be remembered, was written years before the art of reading was a universal accomplishment.

The Power of the Press

The reading public, however, was growing The great writers of Queen Anne's day—Addison, Swift, and Defoe—still flourished in the reign of her successor and their works achieved immense popularity Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, which appeared in 1719, is one of the greatest works of fiction in the English

Robinson Crusoe* and *Gulliver's Travels

[1] This is of course an exaggerated statement The power of the press was first really demonstrated by *The Times* of Barnes (Editor from 1807) and Delane (Editor from 1841) But the career of Wilkes shows that the printed word had a great deal of influence even in the eighteenth century.

language Few writers have excelled Defoe in power of realistic description—for example in the account of the discovery of the footprint in the sand, or in Crusoe's first meeting with Man Friday Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, like *Crusoe*, is a tale of adventure, and, though it was intended as a satire on English society, it may be read with pleasure as a good story

The English Novel

The eighteenth century saw also the birth of the English novel *Pamela*, which was published in 1740, was written by Samuel Richardson,[1] a middle-aged printer, and took the form of letters supposed to be written by a servant-girl The success of *Pamela* led to the publication of *Clarissa Harlowe*, by the same author, in eight solid volumes About the same time, Henry Fielding, a barrister, wrote *Joseph Andrews*, a novel which was shortly followed by his masterpiece, *Tom Jones* In *Tom Jones* we see the life of the eighteenth century as Fielding knew it, his Squire Western is painted from the life—the full-blooded, foul-mouthed country squire, who passed his days in hunting and his nights in drinking For a more sober picture of country life we can turn to Oliver Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield*, which appeared twenty years later Goldsmith's story is written with a desire to improve the mind, but it has neither the fire nor the artistic merit of *Tom Jones* Goldsmith was also the author of a famous comedy, *She Stoops to Conquer* A later playwright, whose works (e g *The School for Scandal*) are still performed, was Richard Sheridan, who portrayed the doings of polite society, with its interminable chatter and its preoccupation with trifles

Tom Jones

The Vicar of Wakefield

Goldsmith and Sheridan

The eighteenth century was one of the greatest periods in our history, but there was something stiff and formal about it. This formality is reflected in the poetry of the age, especially in the writings of Alexander Pope (1688–1744), its greatest exponent Pope was the arbiter of English taste for many years His translation of Homer was widely read and his *Essay on Man* contains some of the best-known epigrams in the English language [2] Pope wrote in the heroic couplet, a regular, formal metre

Pope

[1] Tobias Smollett, author of *Roderick Random*, and Laurence Sterne, author of *Tristram Shandy*, were other novelists of this period

[2] e g 'Hope springs eternal in the human breast' 'The proper study of mankind is man' 'Order is Heaven's first law'

which exactly suited his style He expressed the spirit of his own generation perfectly 'If Pope be not a poet', said Dr Johnson, 'where is poetry to be found?' The remainder of the century—until the French Revolution—was much dominated by Pope's influence It produced no other great poets except Gray, the author of the famous *Elegy in a Country Churchyard*, Burns, who wrote in the Scots vernacular, and Blake, an isolated prophet But Blake and Burns should be regarded as forerunners of the 'Romantic Revival rather than as poets of the eighteenth century' [1]

Gray and Burns

The second half of the century produced the greatest historian who has ever written in the English language. Edward Gibbon (1737–94) was born at Putney of well-to-do parents, his comments on his parentage (in his *Autobiography*) are highly characteristic of the man and of the age 'My lot might have been that of a slave, a savage or a peasant, nor can I reflect without pleasure on the bounty of Nature, which cast my birth in a free and civilized country, in an age of science and philosophy, in a family of honourable rank, and decently endowed with the gifts of fortune' He was a precocious boy, and his prodigious learning was the result of his own exertions The fourteen months which he spent at Magdalen College, Oxford (aged 15), he describes as 'the most idle and unprofitable of my whole life' He gives a devastating, though probably exaggerated, account of the life of the Magdalen dons —'decent easy men, who supinely enjoyed the gifts of the founder, their days were filled by a series of uniform employments, the chapel and the hall, the coffee-house and the common room, till they retired, weary and well satisfied, to a long slumber From the toil of reading, or thinking, or writing, they had absolved their conscience'[2] Gibbon's own life was the opposite of all this He was a born scholar, and read widely—Greek, Latin, French, and English authors Though some have quarrelled with his prejudices, none have ever questioned the soundness of his learning, which, considering the vast scale of his work, was stupendous. His great book, the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (published 1776) covers thirteen centuries of European history, from the Age of the Antonines

Gibbon

Gibbon at Oxford

The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire

[1] See below, p 698 [2] Gibbon, *Autobiography*.

(c A D 150) to the fall of Constantinople (1453) Gibbon was one of the greatest masters of the English language His incomparable style must be studied to be appreciated, his grand prose seems to march on from page to page, from chapter to chapter, like the conquering armies of the Romans he so much admired

Another very typical—perhaps the most typical—product of the age was Samuel Johnson (1709–84) Johnson had not the advantage, which Gibbon notes with so much satisfaction, of being born of wealthy parents His father was a struggling Lichfield bookseller, and though Samuel was sent to Pembroke College, Oxford, he had to leave without taking a degree, his father died in poverty shortly afterwards Johnson, after teaching at a private school, went to London to seek his fortune, and scraped a living as a journalist Among other employments, he wrote the account of the Parliamentary debates for the *Gentleman's Magazine* When he was nearly forty, he was commissioned to write a Dictionary, the publication of which brought him fame

Dr Samuel Johnson (1709–84)

In his later middle age and old age, Johnson was the centre of an admiring literary circle in London His immense learning, his scathing wit, and his downright judgements on every subject under the sun, made him the best-known character in town His extraordinary personality still lives in the pages of Boswell's *Life of Johnson* This biography contains not only the most minute account of the sayings and doings of one man ever written, but also gives a faithful picture of that eighteenth-century London society in which the Doctor lived Boswell, says Macaulay, 'is the first of biographers He has no second He has distanced all his competitors so decidedly that it is not worth while to place them' Boswell was consumed with a passion for noting down the sayings of the great, his enormous industry has made the figure of Dr Johnson one of the most familiar in our literature The brilliant pen-picture which Macaulay painted of the Doctor was derived from a reading of Boswell Everything about Johnson, says Macaulay, is familiar to us—

Boswell's *Life of Johnson*

Description of Dr Johnson

'his coat, his wig, his figure, his face, his St Vitus' Dance, his rolling walk, his blinking eye, the outward signs which too clearly

marked his approbation of his dinner his inextinguishable thirst for tea, his trick of touching the posts as he walked, his mysterious practice of treasuring up scraps of orange peel, his morning slumbers, his midnight disputations, his gruntings, his puffings, his vehemence, his insolence, his fits of tempestuous rage '[1]

No man so hardy as to dispute with the Doctor when he was roused—or woe betide him! One Sir Adam Ferguson ventured to express the opinion that in English politics it was important to preserve a balance against the Crown The Doctor, who was a strong Tory, settled the matter at once 'Sir,' he said, 'I perceive you are a vile Whig Why all this childish jealousy of the power of the Crown? The Crown has not power enough!'

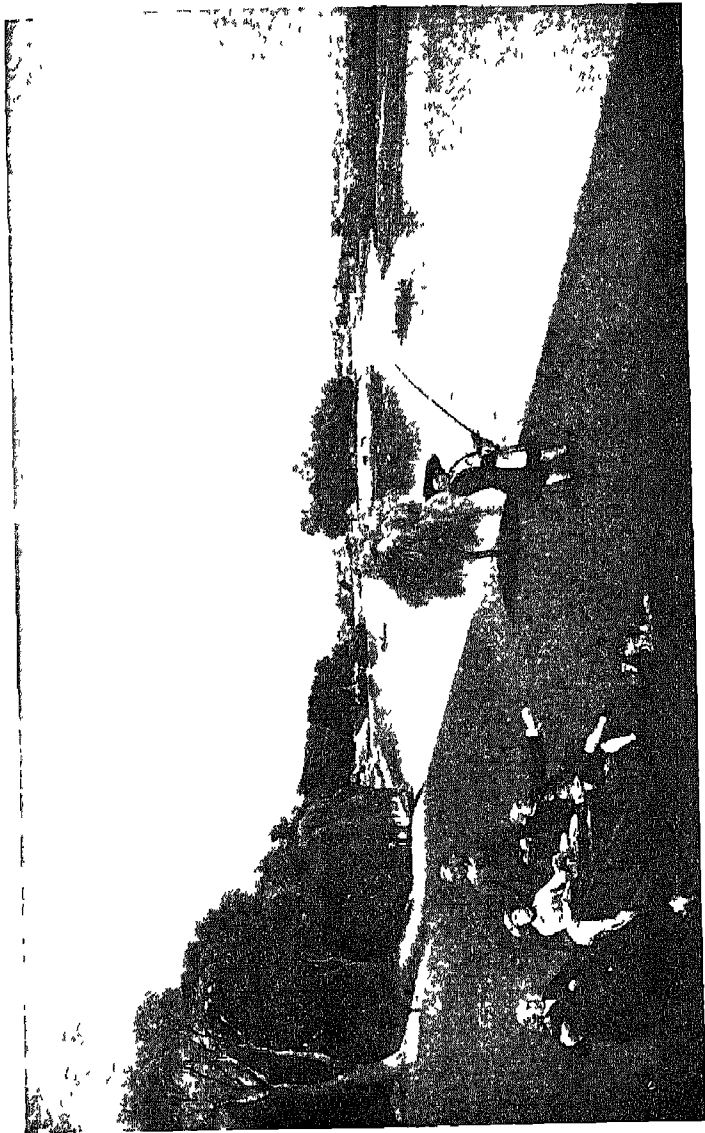
2 *The Arts and the World of Fashion*

Fielding, in *Tom Jones*, has drawn a picture of the coarse-minded country squire, which has often been taken as typical of the eighteenth century But the hunting squire, who was drunk every night of the week, was after all but one type, though a common one, there were also a good many country gentlemen who passed their time in cultured pursuits, and spent their money collecting books, pictures, and furniture This type is perhaps the best product of the age, it could exist only in a country which was peaceably governed, and where one class at any rate had sufficient wealth to indulge its tastes for the fine things of life As we look at the country mansions of Georgian England, their parks and gardens, their pictures and their furniture, we can form some idea of the age, not only of Dr Johnson, but of Gainsborough, Wedgwood, and Chippendale

The Country Gentleman

Architecture

Sir Christopher Wren died in 1723, the Renaissance architecture, which he had done so much to popularize, was the favourite style in England for another hundred years The best architects of the eighteenth century were Sir John Vanbrugh, who designed Blenheim Palace as a residence for the Duke of Marlborough, James Gibbs, who built the Senate House at Cambridge and the Radcliffe Library at Oxford—one of the noblest buildings in England, Nicholas Hawksmoor, who built the quadrangle of Queen's College, Oxford, one of

[1] Macaulay's description, abridged.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

The world of literature Mr and Mrs Thrale entertaining Dr Johnson to tea at their house at Richmond

(From the painting by Zoffany in the possession of the Earl of Durham)

the chief ornaments of the famous High Street, and John Wood of Bath,[1] who was responsible for some of the buildings which have made that beautiful and dignified city unique among English towns Later architects were the brothers Adam, who designed not only many beautiful houses in London and elsewhere, but furnished them with fine interior panelling and with the famous Adam fire-places The eighteenth century is a great period of English architecture, the planning and building of Bath was a great achievement, unfortunately not imitated elsewhere, except at Cheltenham But the growth of London westward from Hyde Park also furnished an opportunity for the erection of those stately buildings which still beautify the city, and which the modern Londoner (of the suburbs) may well envy And all over England country houses were being built of brick or stone, while the familiar Georgian brick-front can still be seen in every old town in the country

Bath — *The Adam Brothers* — *Georgian houses in London*

Gardening

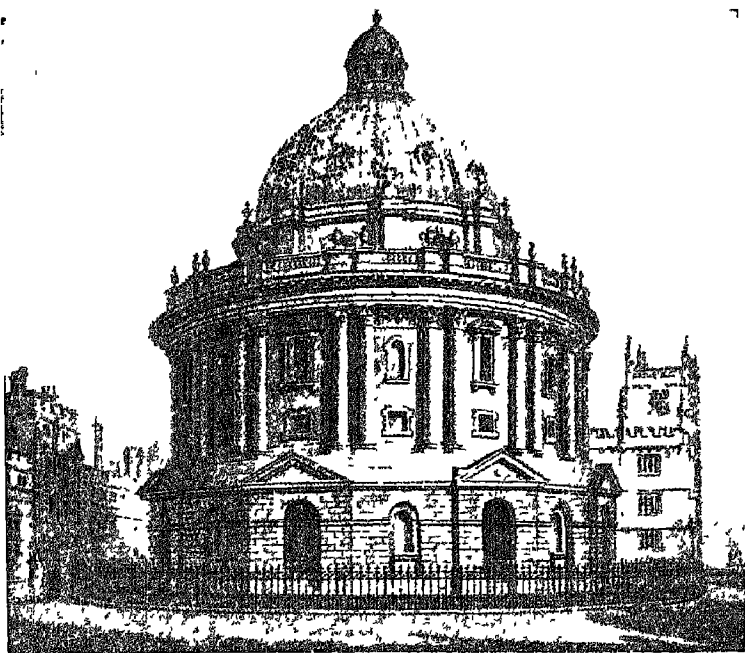
After the house, the garden The eighteenth century was a great gardening age, and during it many of our most beautiful parks were laid out, thousands of acres, too, of new forests were planted In gardening, we may distinguish two main periods In the first, the formal garden, which was much in favour under William III (and so is often called the Dutch garden), took pride of place Trees were carved into fantastic shapes, masses of yew or box were tidily clipped and arranged in symmetrical patterns, and the flower-beds were laid out in geometrical designs This formal style, however, gave way to a novel type of landscape gardening Now sculptured hedges and neat walks were discarded Nature was all the rage, and the landscape-gardener tried by imitating the great original to conform to Nature's plan Defoe, describing the garden of a great house he saw in Essex, says 'The Walks and Wilderness go to such Distance, and in such a Manner, up to the Hill, that the Sight is lost in the Woods adjoining, and it looks all like one continued planted Garden, as far as the Eye can reach '[2]

The Dutch Garden — *Landscape Gardening*

Furniture

Inside the house, the taste of the owner was equally in

[1] Also built Liverpool Town Hall Birmingham Cathedral, another product of this era, was the work of Thomas Archer (1719), a pupil of Wren

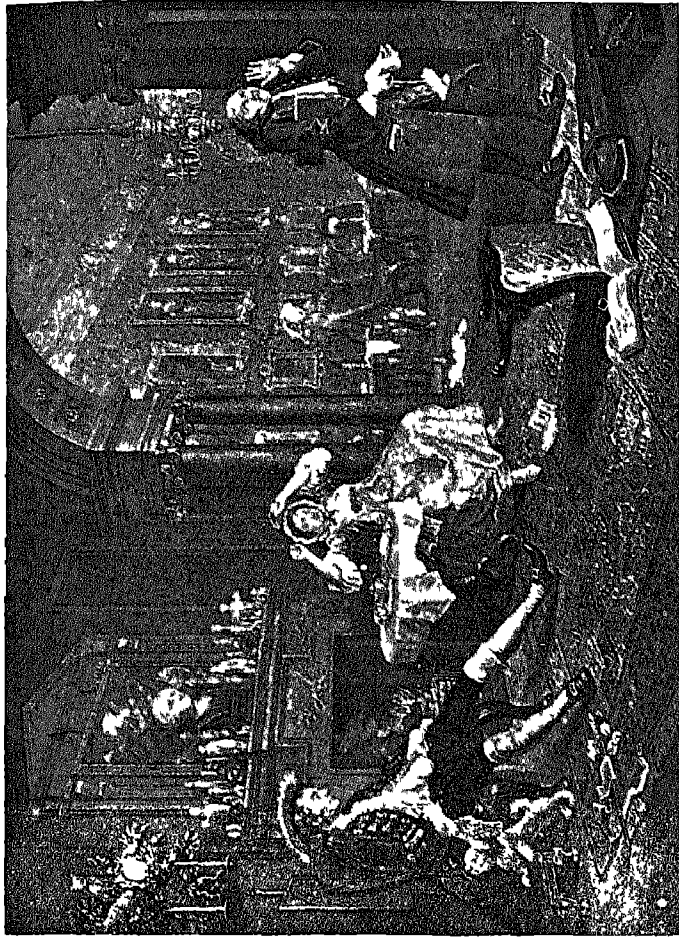
[2] Defoe *Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain*

GEORGIAN ARCHITECTURE

Above, the Radcliffe Library, Oxford, designed by James Gibbs
Below, Edgcote, Northamptonshire, a typical Georgian country house

evidence This was the period of the great furniture-makers, Chippendale, Hepplewhite, and Sheraton (1751–1806) Chippendale, who worked largely in mahogany (a wood imported from the Spanish West Indies), relied on the natural beauty of the wood, Sheraton inlaid the mahogany with satinwood, tulip wood, and even brass The carving of the chairs, tables, and cabinets turned out by these great masters of their art was always of the most careful workmanship

Pottery Another art which flourished in eighteenth-century England was that of pottery making The potteries at Derby, Worcester, and Chelsea were all founded about this time, while in **Wedgwood (1730–95)** Staffordshire Josiah Wedgwood, greatest of all English potters, set up his famous foundry His most typical pottery was decorated with designs in white, standing out against a plain background, usually blue

Like the English Renaissance in architecture, the Classical **Painting** school of English painting was much later than its counterpart on the Continent The most famous portraits in Stuart times were painted by Dutchmen—Vandyke and Sir Peter Lely But in the eighteenth century a school of native English **Hogarth (1697–1764)** painters arose, of whom Hogarth was the forerunner Hogarth painted, or rather caricatured, the life of the common people whom he saw around him, in his 'Gin Lane' he tells a sordid though true story His pictures often formed a series, intended to point a moral, as in 'Rake's Progress' and 'Marriage *à la Mode*' After Hogarth came the portrait painters—Reynolds, Gainsborough, and Romney The Royal Academy was founded (1768) in this the first considerable period of English painting, **Reynolds** Sir Joshua Reynolds was its first President Gainsborough, besides being a portrait painter, was also in the first rank of landscape painters

Music England, which in Elizabeth's day had been the foremost country in Europe for musicians, sadly declined in this respect in the following two centuries No English composer arose after Purcell (died 1695)—none to compare with the great German **Handel** masters, Bach, Beethoven, and Handel But England at least adopted Handel, who made this country his home for nearly half a century He came to England in 1710, and helped to introduce the Italian opera into London After this, he turned

'MARRIAGE À LA MODE'

The second scene of Hogarth's famous series of pictures The husband is ruining himself by gambling His steward walks away in despair, an account book under his arm and a file of unpaid bills in his hand The picture illustrates well the interior of a rich man's house in the eighteenth century

to oratorios, and here he won immediate popularity and enduring fame Handel's *Messiah* (first performed in Dublin 1742) is probably still the best-known choral work in the British Isles It was in this period that John Gay wrote the lyrics for *The Beggar's Opera* (1728), one of the most charming and amusing musical comedies ever produced [1]

Gay

The Stage

The English stage underwent considerable changes in the eighteenth century In the first place, it was now patronized by polite society and no longer regarded, as in Puritan times, as fit only for the amusement of vulgar and immoral persons The artificial comedies of Goldsmith and Sheridan filled the London theatres, but far more important than this was the revival of Shakespeare In the preceding century it had been the fashion to rewrite Shakespeare's plays and present them under other names, thus, the *Merchant of Venice* became the *Jew of Venice*, and the *Merry Wives* was rewritten as the *Comical Gallant* Fortunately, there was now a reaction against this barbarous custom, in 1740 *As You Like It* was produced in London for the first time for forty years, next year the *Merchant of Venice* was performed in its original form for the first time for a century The Shakespearian revival gave an opportunity to one of the greatest actors who have ever lived—David Garrick He raised the profession of actor to a height never before attained in this country, he was justly regarded as one of the first men in England It was he who instituted the Shakespearian Festival at Stratford-on-Avon (1769) Later in the century came Sarah Siddons, a beautiful and accomplished actress, whose most famous part was Lady Macbeth

Revival of Shakespeare

Garrick 1717–1779)

We have now briefly surveyed the arts and amusements of the upper classes of Hanoverian England—in some respects one of the most highly cultivated societies that have ever existed The century that produced (besides the Pitts, Clive, and Wolfe) Reynolds and Gainsborough, Gay and Garrick, Chippendale and Wedgwood, Goldsmith and Gibbon, need fear few rivals But this polite society had its vices Gambling was a universal passion, thousands of pounds changed hands every night, and estates were thrown away at the card table And heavy drinking was unfortunately common, among both rich and poor

Gambling

[1] It has been revived, with enormous success, in our own times

To see the eighteenth century at its most typical, we must go to Bath, and imagine the town under the long reign of Beau Nash, king of Fashion, who ruled supreme in the Pump Room and the Assembly Rooms There a rigid etiquette governed the entire proceedings, there fortunes were won and lost, heiresses wooed, marriages made and unmade The tune of the stately gavotte fills the ball-room, the white-wigged dancers move sedately to their places, the candles shine on the lovely dresses, the gay silks and satins of men and women It is all very beautiful, very dignified and very artificial. Nothing was ever allowed to disturb the tranquillity of this world of wigs and powdered faces, of dancing and music and good wine—certainly not the troubles of the poor people of England, or the voice of John Wesley

Bath

3 *The Methodist Revival*

The history of the Methodist Revival, in the reigns of George II and George III, reveals a startling contrast with the picture of England outlined in the preceding pages When John Wesley visited the west of England, he did not go, like most well-to-do persons, to the Pump Rooms at Bath, he went to preach to the colliers of Kingswood, near Bristol, and to the tinners of the Cornish mines

John Wesley (1703–91) was the second surviving son of the Reverend Samuel Wesley, Vicar of Epworth in Lincolnshire He was educated at Charterhouse and at Oxford, where he was ordained, and became a Fellow of Lincoln College While at Oxford, he began the habit of early rising, which he kept up till extreme old age, Wesley's day began at four in the morning He and his brother Charles, who was at Oxford with him, were regular attendants at a certain religious society in the University It was this society which received the college nickname of Methodist—a name which Wesley afterwards adopted for his own societies In 1735 John Wesley accepted General Oglethorpe's invitation to lead a mission to his newly founded colony of Georgia The visit was not a success, for Wesley quarrelled with many of the colonists and returned to England a disappointed man

John Wesley (1703–91)

Wesley at Oxford

On his arrival in England (1737) he settled in London, where

he again came under the influence of the religious societies It was now that he embraced the doctrine of 'Justification by Faith', and he believed that no man's life or actions were of any value unless he had a lively sense that all his sins had been forgiven by Christ About this time the first Methodist societies were formed in London The members used to hold long meetings, sometimes lasting all night, and performed orgies of religious devotion, scarcely surpassed in the days of the medieval monastic revivals

Wesley's Conversion 1738

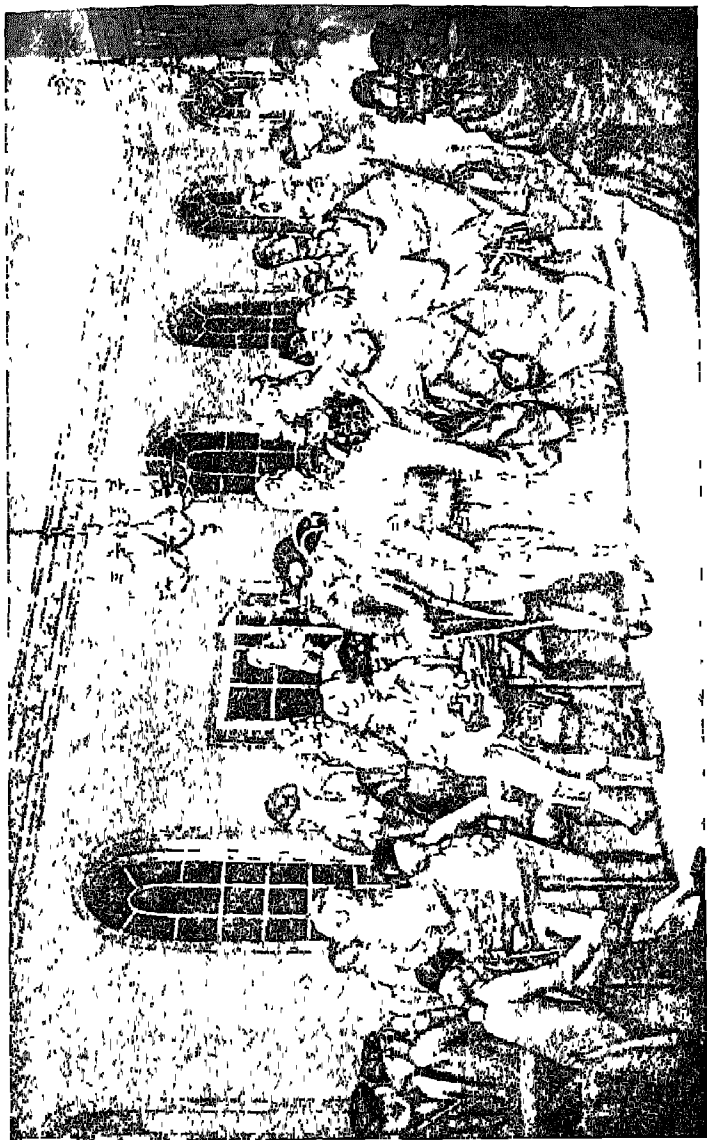
Origin of the Methodist Movement

In conjunction with his brother Charles, and another remarkable man named George Whitefield, Wesley now began a missionary crusade in England and Wales, which was destined to transform the life of the nation The founders of the movement not only preached all over the country themselves, but sent out field-preachers on a similar mission Both Wesley and Whitefield preached in the open air—for the doors of the churches were closed to them—to enormous congregations, sometimes numbering 30,000 or 40,000 people Wesley himself always remained a member of the Church of England, but, by the end of his life, his movement had assumed such large proportions, and was conducted on lines so dissimilar from the Established Church, that a separation was inevitable

George Whitefield

Two things contributed largely to the success of both Wesley and Whitefield their extraordinary energy, and their remarkable powers as preachers In the latter respect, George Whitefield surpassed Wesley, he was perhaps the most astonishing preacher who had been heard in Europe since the days of the first Friars The effect of his sermons was amazing, he often caused a large proportion of his congregation to burst out weeping, some even fell to the ground in an agony of remorse He himself rarely preached without being affected by tears To these semi-hypnotic powers he added all the arts of a great actor On one occasion, he likened the state of an unconverted sinner to that of an old blind man, tottering towards the edge of a precipice So realistic was the description, that when the preacher came to the point where the old man falls over the edge of the cliff, Lord Chesterfield, who was listening, called out in alarm, 'Good God! he is gone!'[1]

His Preaching

[1] On another occasion, he was preaching to some sailors and used the

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

The world of pleasure Drinking tea at Bagnigge Wells, a celebrated London tea-garden (about 1770)

Though Wesley was not Whitefield's equal as a preacher, yet his sermons were attended by thousands of persons a year, and were often accompanied by the same exhibitions of religious fervour as those of Whitefield In the course of his missionary journeys Wesley travelled thousands of miles a year on horseback, and kept up this remarkable record for nearly half a century, till he was well over eighty His main centres were London and Bristol He made one long journey to the west of England nearly every year, and at least one to the north, two of his chief centres were Newcastle-on-Tyne and St Ives in Cornwall. Besides these long journeys, lasting several months, he made several shorter ones—e g from London to Bristol and back—in the course of every year.[1]

Wesley's Journeys

Attitude of the Clergy

The reception given to the early Methodists by the clergy of the Established Church was an extremely hostile one They were outraged that any man, particularly any clergyman, should presume to employ the method of field-preaching and attract the poor and ignorant to hear sermons preached in the style of St Francis or Peter the Hermit The English clergy were, on the whole, a quiet body of men, fond of their libraries and their gardens, but they confined their preaching activities to one weekly sermon Worthy men though they were in many ways, the clergy were devoid of religious zeal of any kind, and they hated nothing so much as the 'enthusiasm' (i e fanaticism) of the Methodists Wesley's mission was, like that of the first Disciples, to preach the Gospel of Christ to every creature. He found, over large districts of England and Wales, that the people were neglected by those whose duty it

Their dislike of Enthusiasm

image of a ship lost in a storm 'How the waves arise and dash against the ship! Our masts are gone! The ship is on her beam-ends! What next?' 'The long boat, take to the long boat!' cried out his excited audience

[1] Two consecutive years may be taken as examples 1744 (Jan) London, Bristol (Mar–Apr) Cornwall, Somerset, S Wales (May–June) Bristol, Staffs, Epworth, Yorkshire, Newcastle, Durham, Lancs, Cheshire, London (July) Bristol (Aug) Oxford, Bristol, London (Nov) Bath, Bristol 1745 (Jan) Bristol (Feb–Apr) Notts, Durham, Newcastle, Yorks, Derbyshire, Wednesbury, Oxford, London (June–Aug) Bristol, Cornwall, S. Wales (Sept–Nov) Newcastle, Sheffield, Leeds, Epworth, Newcastle, Yorks, Cheshire, Birmingham, London (See Wesley's *Journal*)

was to instruct them. This accounts for the rage of the clergy at his success, he preached to the mob, and in revenge the clergy let loose hostile mobs upon him

There is no doubt that the early persecutions which the Methodists endured were the result of the stirring up of the mob by hostile clergy and gentry. The two Wesleys and their followers had to face the most violent persecution during the first few years of their ministry At Wednesbury and Darlaston, in Staffordshire, terrible scenes were witnessed At Darlaston the mob broke into a Methodist's house and carried away all his goods, 'not satisfied with this, they sought for him and his wife, swearing they would knock their brains out Their little children meanwhile wandered up and down, no one daring to relieve or take them in, lest they should hazard their own lives.' At Birmingham the houses of all the Methodists were attacked. 'They first broke all their windows, suffering neither glass, lead nor frames to remain therein Then they made their way in, and all the tables, chairs, chests of drawers . they dashed in pieces What they could not well break, as feather beds, they cut in pieces, and strewed about the room.' At St Ives, in Cornwall, Charles Wesley had just begun to preach, when a mob broke into the meeting-house They broke up everything, windows, shutters, benches, poor-box—all but the stone walls. At Towednack, near by, 'they assaulted us (says Charles Wesley) with sticks and stones and endeavoured to pull me down I bade them strike me and spare the people Many lifted up their hands and weapons, but were not permitted to touch me My time is not yet come'

Mob Violence

Charles Wesley

The courage with which the Wesleys faced these ordeals, however, eventually won them the respect of their enemies. And when it was established that the Methodists were neither political agitators, nor Papists, nor agents of the Pretender (the worst riots were in 1745), they were suffered to go in peace After 1745 the persecution died down, and the new movement grew in strength from year to year

Courage of the Wesleys

It is time to consider the condition of English society which the work of the Wesleys revealed It is not too much to say that large sections of the people were living in conditions of such hardship, such danger and discomfort, and even of such

Condition of the Poor

absolute bestiality as cannot now be easily conceived The Cornish tinners, for example, among whom Wesley preached for fifty years, worked underground, 'with hardly any room to turn their bodies, wet to the skin by the glimmering of a small candle, whose scattered rays will barely penetrate the thick darkness of the place' [1] A doctor who worked among these miners saw his patient conveyed to a hut 'full of naked children destitute of all conveniences, and almost of all necessities The whole, indeed, is a scene of such complicated wretchedness and distress as words have no power to describe '[2]

The moral condition of such people was as deplorable as their physical state Drunkenness was common in every village Brutal sports, such as cock-fighting and bear-baiting, were usual, and 'games' of football, played in the village streets, were bloody encounters between half-savage men, who kicked and hacked at one another like wild beasts. Boxing matches between women attracted large crowds This, too, was the heyday of smuggling, and of the even more pernicious practice of 'wrecking', which was especially prevalent on our western shores Poor sailors wrecked on the English coast, and seeking help, found 'the Rocks themselves not more merciless than the People who range about them for Prey' The wreckers used to murder the sailors, break up the ships, and carry away what goods they could

Civilizing influence of Methodism

Turning to the results of the Methodist movement, we may take first the benefits it conferred on England First and foremost, Wesley and his preachers brought the mass of the people, formerly abandoned by polite society to their own barbarous habits, into contact with a more Christian and civilized life Wesley forbade his followers to engage in the drunken or fighting orgies then common among the poorer classes, and the leaven which the Methodists thus introduced acted in time upon the whole community 'These indefatigable men', wrote a Church of England clergyman about the Methodists, 'have perseveringly taught, gradually reclaimed, and at length completely reformed, a large body of men, who, without their

[1] Clarke, *Tour through South England*, 1791

[2] Pryce, *Mineralogia Cornubiensis*, 1778

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

Low life   A street scene on May Day in London (about 1780)

exertions, would still have been immersed in the deepest spiritual darkness, and the grossest moral turpitude '[1]

The moral reformation which Wesley effected in England during his lifetime did not cease at his death The Evangelical Movement in the Church of England, which was a reaction against eighteenth-century indifference and a return to Puritanism, was a direct outcome of the Methodist movement. Many followers of John Wesley (like Wesley himself) could not bear to break with the Established Church, and remained within it One of the best results, both of Methodism and of Evangelicalism, was the growth of a more humane spirit in English life, which led in time to the abolition of the Slave Trade, and to the ending of the more barbarous forms of 'amusement' in this country

The Evangelical Movement

Defects of Methodism

There is, however, another side to the picture Wesley's power was founded largely on an appeal to the emotion of fear He was himself an extremely superstitious man, and he believed —and he impressed his belief on his hearers—that dreadful consequences, both in this world and the next, would follow a disregard of his message Besides this, there was something harsh and uncompromising about John Wesley, as can be seen from his instructions to the school which he founded at Kingswood, Bristol 'We have no play-day (he says), the school being taught every day in the year but Sunday, neither do we allow any time for play on any day, he that plays when he is a child will play when he is a man' Again, Wesley set his face, not only against drunkenness and street-fighting, but against the most innocent amusements and recreations He was thus largely responsible for the transformation of the Merry—too merry—England of the eighteenth century which he knew into the joyless England of the Victorian Sunday.

Wesley's School

[1] Warner's *Tour*, 1800

XXX

THE CHANGE TO INDUSTRIAL ENGLAND

1 *The Land and the Enclosures*

ENGLAND in 1700 was still chiefly a land of villages, there were no big towns except London, and agriculture was the occupation of the vast majority of the people A large proportion of the arable land in England was still farmed on the old open-field system, which had endured from Saxon or earlier times In some counties, particularly in the south-east (Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and Essex), large enclosures of land had taken place in Tudor times, and much of the land was there cut up into farms in the modern manner But, except in these instances, England presented what would be to us an unfamiliar picture large open fields, without hedges or fences, surrounding each village These open fields were divided among the villagers as they had been from time immemorial, the 'custom' of the village had decided the size and position of the 'strips' to which each man was entitled

Farming in 1700

The Open-Field-System

Next in importance to agriculture came spinning and cloth-making, and that, too, was carried on in the country, where the people made the home-spun woollen cloth in their own cottages. Defoe, writing in 1725, thus describes the wool industry under this system, as he saw it in Yorkshire

Industry in 1700

'Though we met few people without doors, yet within we saw the houses full of lusty fellows, some at the dye-vat, some at the loom, others dressing the cloths, the women and children carding or spinning, all employed from the youngest to the oldest, scarce anything above four years old, but its hands were sufficient for its own support Not a beggar to be seen nor an idle person, except here and there in an almshouse built for those that are ancient, and past working '[1]

Such, in brief, was rural England of 200 years ago Two tremendous changes, both of which took place during the second half of the eighteenth century, altered this old England

Two great changes

[1] Defoe, *Tour of Great Britain*

beyond all recognition These two changes were the enclosure of the common-fields and the coming of power-driven machinery The former process destroyed the age-long system of strip-farming, the latter gradually destroyed the 'domestic' or household system, as applied to the cloth industry, as well as minor village industries, and substituted for these the factory system which still dominates British industry.

The Enclosures of the eighteenth century were accompanied by a revolution in the methods of farming as they had been practised for thousands of years Pioneers of scientific farming saw that the old methods were wasteful and inefficient and set about devising improvements Among the pioneers was Jethro Tull, who invented a machine—ominous word!—for sowing seed, which took the place of the human sower, scattering seed from a basket Tull's machine was called a drill, and he described it in these words 'It makes the channels, sows the seeds into them, and covers them at the same time, with great exactness and precision' Another pioneer was Lord Townshend, who retired from politics in 1730,[1] and for the next thirty years devoted himself to farming on his Norfolk estate. 'Turnip' Townshend, as he was called, adopted a new rotation of crops, still known as the Norfolk or four-course system Under the old system, the farmer had to allow one-third of his land to lie fallow each year, since the soil would not bear corn crops more than two years running Townshend proved that, by planting root crops (turnips and mangolds) and clover, *all* the land could always be kept under cultivation, and further that the planting of the turnips and clover had beneficial effects on the soil Townshend's rotation of crops was—turnips, barley or oats, clover, wheat. This system not only had the effect of improving the land but provided winter food for cattle, which meant fresh meat throughout the winter. Another Norfolk man who did much to introduce (from about 1778) the new methods of farming was Squire Coke of Holkham

The Agricultural Revolution

Jethro Tull's Drill 1701

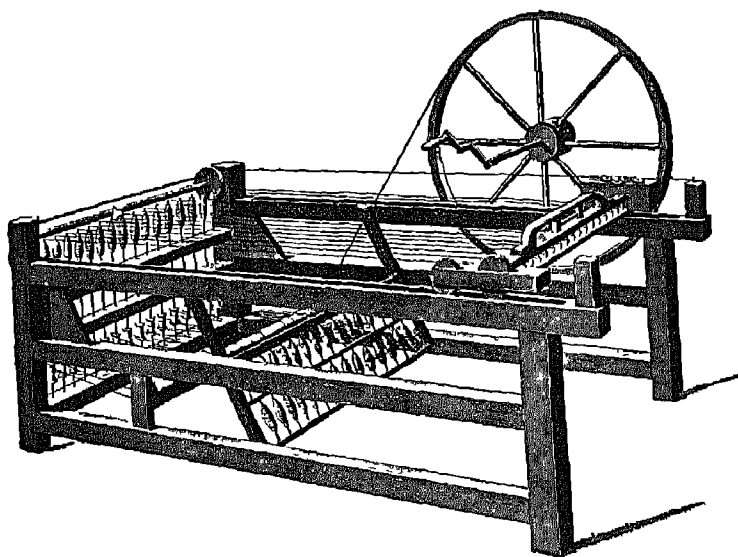
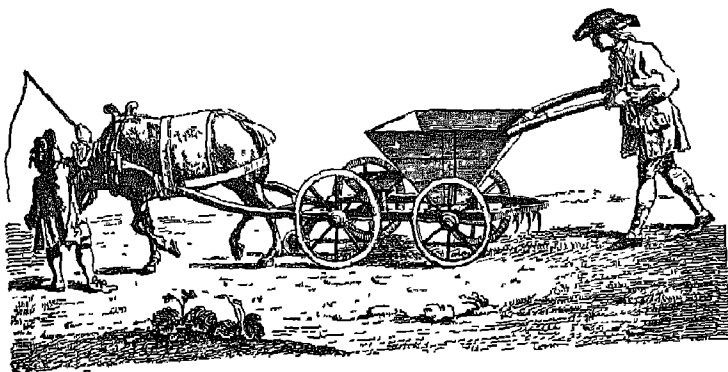
'Turnip' Townshend

New Rotation of Crops

Next came vast improvements in the breeding of sheep and cattle One of the first men to apply himself to this subject was Robert Bakewell (1725–95) of Dishley in Leicestershire, whose

Sheep and Cattle

Robert Bakewell

[1] See above, p 585 Townshend, like other agricultural improvers, got many of his ideas from the Continent, especially Holland

THE COMING OF MACHINERY

Above, a four-wheel drill-plough with seed and manure hoppers (about 1745) *Below*, Hargreaves's spinning jenny (see p 664)

first experiments were made with the Longhorn breed of cattle Bakewell also turned his attention to sheep, and the Leicestershire sheep which he bred were very fine animals He specialized in producing large, fat sheep, paying less attention to the quality of the wool, and it is said that the new breed of sheep were two or even three times as heavy as the old Charles Colling, of Ketton, near Darlington, followed Bakewell's methods, and succeeded in producing the Shorthorn breed of cattle, which are now famous all over the world

The need for Enclosure

It was easy to see that, as soon as the new methods of farming became widely known, the old system of English agriculture would collapse Population was increasing rapidly, and yet the land was producing only a fraction of what it might To bring in the new methods, it was necessary to do away with the strip system, for small farmers, owning only a few acres each, were conservative and disinclined to try any novelty Besides, the strip system was obviously not only antiquated but wasteful So it came about that, during the second half of the eighteenth century, thousands of acres of strips were 'enclosed' to make compact fields and farms Enclosures were sometimes brought about by mutual consent, but often it was necessary to promote a special Act of Parliament in order to overcome the obstinacy—as it seemed to the promoters—of the villagers

Enclosure Acts

Between 1702 and 1750, 112 such Acts were passed, between 1750 and 1810, 2,920 In 1801 came the General Enclosure Act, which rendered easier the process of enclosure During the whole century, about 2¾ million acres of common-fields, and 1½ million acres of waste, were thus enclosed by Act of Parliament, these figures, of course, take no account of land otherwise enclosed

Enclosures were of two kinds (*a*) enclosure of the common or waste, which was reclaimed for the plough, and (*b*) enclosure of the open (the fenceless) fields, by redistributing the land, i e splitting it up into modern farms, divided by hedges It was this latter system which caused the greatest amount of distress

Distress caused by Enclosure

When the land came to be re-divided, many poor persons were unable to show a legal right to their share of it, which had usually been determined by village custom And even if they could show a legal right, the poor were often unable to pay the

THE PROGRESS OF ENCLOSURE IN ENGLAND

The parish of Eakring, Nottinghamshire

cost of hedging, and so had to sell their share, in either case they lost their land They also lost the right to graze animals on the waste and to collect fuel And so the old village system, under which every householder had his little bit of land, disappeared from England Its place was taken by a new system of farming, admittedly less wasteful and producing far better results, but involving, nevertheless, considerable hardships.

Arthur Young

Arthur Young, who spent most of his life urging improvements in farming and advocating Enclosure, was yet obliged to own in his later years that much suffering had been caused In 1801 Young wrote 'By nineteen out of twenty Enclosure Acts, the poor are injured, and most grossly'

The loss of their land, by causing the villagers great distress, drove many of them into the towns,[1] to seek their fortune in the new industries which steam-power was bringing into the world. There is no greater change in England's history than this that the mass of the population was driven from the countryside, so that England, which in 1750 had been largely rural, was by 1850 largely urban It was, in many respects, a change for the worse, as some of the victims themselves foresaw Here is part of a petition, addressed to Parliament in 1797, by the men of Raunds in Northamptonshire

Petition against Enclosure

'A ruinous effect of this enclosure will be the almost total depopulation of their town, now filled with bold and hardy husbandmen, from among whom, and the inhabitants of other open parishes, the nation has hitherto derived its greatest strength and glory, in the supply of its fleets and armies; and driving them, from necessity and want of employ, in vast crowds, into manufacturing towns, where the very nature of their employment, over the loom or the forge, soon may waste their strength, and consequently debilitate their posterity, and by imperceptible degrees obliterate that great principle of obedience to the Laws of God and their country, which forms the character of the simple and artless villagers, more equally distributed through the open counties, and on which so much depends the good order and government of the State'

[1] It should be remembered that the village industries were declining at the same time as the Enclosures were taking place, owing to the rise of the new industries, to be described in the next section This, again, drove the poor into the towns

This petition was not drawn up by one of the 'simple and artless villagers!' But it was drawn up by some one who foresaw only too truly the wretched fate which awaited them and their children in the new industrial towns Oliver Goldsmith, in his *Deserted Village*, laments the passing of the old English village, where the country parson was 'passing rich with forty pounds a year', and where 'every rood of ground maintained its man'

The Deserted Village

> Ill fares the land, to hast'ning ills a prey,
> Where wealth accumulates and men decay,
> Princes and lords may flourish, or may fade—
> A breath can make them, as a breath has made—
> But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
> When once destroy'd can never be supplied

2 *The Coming of Machines*

The Industrial 'Revolution'

In the eighteenth century a change developed in the method and scale of industry more far-reaching in its effects than all the wars and politics of the period, for the coming of machinery meant that an entirely new phase was opening in the history of human occupations

The England over which 'Farmer George' began to reign in 1760 was still, as we have seen, chiefly a land of farmers, and such small industries as were carried on were also country pursuits But, by the time George III died, this was irrevocably changed, the nation of farmers and village craftsmen had become mainly a nation of mechanics and factory 'hands' For it was in Britain that the new machines had their first home, it was a few Britons who invented or applied them The name 'Industrial Revolution' is usually given to this stupendous change; but it should be remembered that this change in industry was gradual, that it cannot be dated from any particular year, and that in our own day it has been spreading from Britain to all the countries of the world The age of steam has been followed by the age of petrol and electricity, and we cannot tell what new scientific devices will, in as short a space of time, transform the lives of our descendants

In this section we shall consider only the first phase of this

Industrial 'Revolution'.[1] The first inventions were applied to the old woollen industry, and to the new manufacture of cotton, which sprang up in south Lancashire It was in 1733 that John Kay, of Bury, Lancashire, invented his 'flying shuttle', a mechanical device which greatly increased the speed at which the weavers of cloth could work Kay's invention led to the gradual disappearance of the old hand-loom, and the adoption of the power-loom The first power-looms were worked by water, hundreds of them were set up in Lancashire on the slopes of the Pennines, by the banks of moorland streams Here, in deserted spots, their ruins can still be seen—a reminder of the brief reign of water-power, before the invention of steam-engines caused the cotton industry to move to the Lancashire coalfield

Kay's Shuttle 1733

The new power-looms wove the cloth so fast that the spinners (still working on the old-fashioned spindle) could not keep pace with the demand for more cotton. Then, though not till thirty years after Kay's invention, Hargreaves invented the multiple spinning 'jenny' (1764), which made it possible for one man to work at first eight, and later a hundred, spindles The 'jenny' was soon improved by Richard Arkwright, who developed the 'spinning frame' (1771) worked by water-power, and a few years later by Crompton, whose 'mule' (1779) combined the merits of both Hargreaves' and Arkwright's machines.

Hargreaves, Arkwright, Crompton

It was not till 1785—fifty years after Kay's first machine—that one of Watt's steam-engines (which we shall consider presently) was first used in a cotton mill But in these fifty years Lancashire cotton trade had grown at an astonishing rate, and it was to grow still more in the future, Lancashire, for another 150 years, was destined to be the main supplier of machine-made cotton goods to the world [2] A combination of circumstances made the prosperity of Lancashire The damp climate suited the cotton-thread, Liverpool and the Mersey were convenient for importing raw cotton from America and exporting cotton goods to the whole world [3] An old-established

Lancashire Cotton Trade

[1] For later developments see Chapters XXV, XLI, and XLV

[2] Lancashire imported 8,000 tons of raw cotton in 1760, 25,000 tons in 1800, and 300,000 tons in 1861

[3] See Section 5

woollen industry was the stem from which the cotton industry developed Finally, the south Lancashire coal-field was ready for use when steam-power came to drive the wheels of industry The new inventions were also applied to the woollen industry, which did not, however, grow at so rapid a rate as the cotton. Woollen stuffs were not suitable for export to the tropics, one of the main markets for cottons the old-established woollen trade resisted change, whereas cotton was new and welcomed it, and sheep could not be produced so quickly or in such large quantities as cotton-plants

Iron

There were also great developments in the coal and iron industries The manufacture of iron had been carried on in England from early times Iron is extracted from the iron-stone (or iron ore) by heating the latter until the metal is separated from it The heating agent used for centuries in this process had been wood charcoal, hence the first English ironworks were in Sussex, in the great Forest of Weald[1] But timber became scarce and production fell Then came the discovery that it was possible to turn coal into coke, and use it instead of charcoal in the smelting process

Coal and Iron

Abraham Darby

The first man to use coke in furnaces was Abraham Darby (the elder), at Coalbrookdale in Shropshire (1709) His son, of the same name, improved on his methods, and by the middle of the century coke was used in all the various heating processes by which iron is refined and made fit for use The increase in the production of iron was startling, England in 1737 produced between 12,000 and 15,000 tons of iron, in 1806 over 250,000 tons This revolution in the iron industry led to the development of the coal-fields—in which Britain was found to be singularly rich—in the Black Country, south Wales, south Yorkshire, south Lancashire, the Tyne, and the Clyde

British Coal-fields

Steam-power

Steam-engines had for some time been used for pumping water out of coal-mines It was in 1776 that John Wilkinson, iron-master, first used the steam-engine for 'blowing' in blast-furnaces, and soon steam-power entirely took the place of water-power in all the processes of the iron industry, and also in the cotton industry In fact the steam-engine soon supplied

[1] Ironworks were also set up in other places, e g the Midlands and Yorkshire, in order to tap fresh supplies of timber

the motive power for all the industries which transformed England.

The inventor of a practical and economical steam-engine was James Watt, an instrument-maker of Glasgow Watt was a cross-grained, melancholy man,[1] who suffered from headaches, his workmen, when he had any, suffered from his bad temper There had been steam-engines before Watt's, but they were not very effective, because no one had thought of making what is called the 'separate condenser' The secret of the steam-engine is said to have occurred to Watt in 1765, he patented his invention four years later But he had to wait some years longer, owing to lack of money, before he could make any use of his discovery Then he had the luck to be taken into partnership (1775) by an enterprising business man, Matthew Boulton, whose works were at Soho, near Birmingham The partnership of Boulton and Watt was successful because Watt's inventive powers were sound, and his deficiencies as a business man—which were considerable—were more than made up by the capable Boulton From the day when 'Iron-mad' Wilkinson (1728–1808) tried one of Watt's engines in his blast-furnace at Bilston (Staffs), and found it satisfactory, all went well The original partners of the firm of Boulton and Watt continued in business for another quarter of a century, and made a large fortune By 1800 the steam-engine was being used in coal-mines, in iron-furnaces, and in the textile industries.

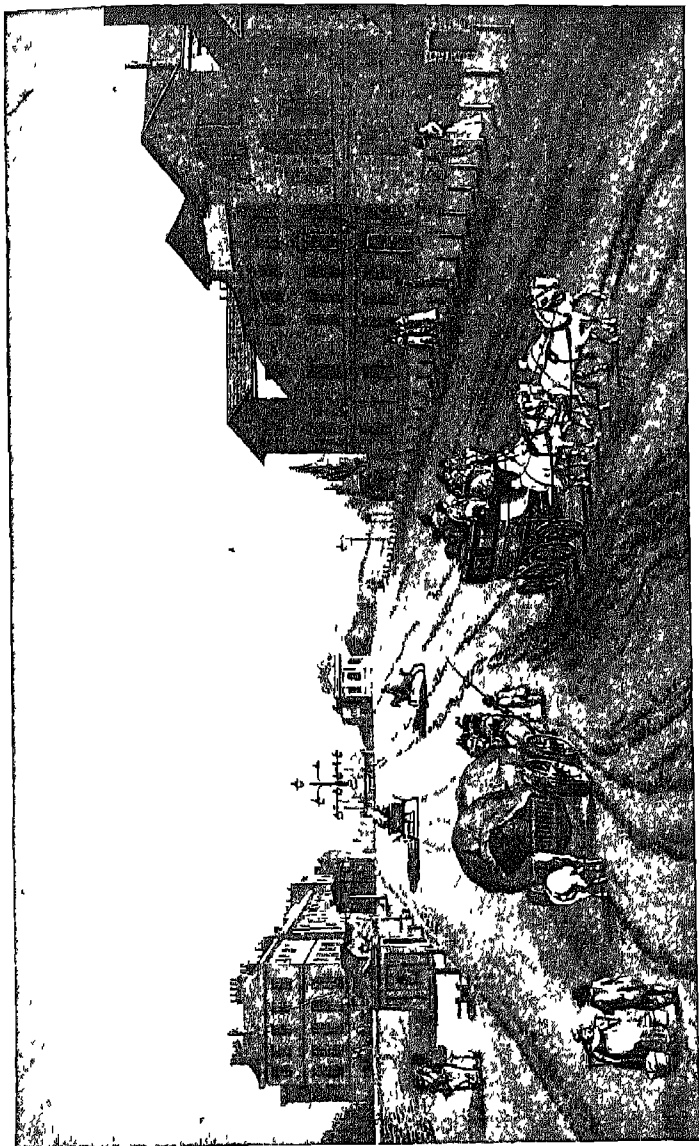
James Watt

His Steam-engine 1769

Boulton and Watt

3 *Roads and Canals*

The new age ushered in by the machines could not have flourished under the old conditions of transport, which had endured for generations in England But the coming of machinery coincided with an improvement in the transport of goods, the production of coal, iron, and other heavy materials necessitated the making, first of canals (in the eighteenth century) and then of railways (in the nineteenth century) At

[1] 'If one man in the history of the world is to be taken as the author of modern civilization, it is this melancholy mechanic, in whose outlook on life the superstitious might perhaps discern a warning of its ambiguous blessings' (Hammond, *Rise of Modern Industries*)

THE IMPROVEMENT OF ROAD TRANSPORT

The Hyde Park Corner Turnpike in 1798 A waggon from the country, drawn by six horses, is on the left, and a coach-and-four on the right

the same time as the canals were made, the roads were improved

The great roads which the Romans built in this country were magnificent feats of early engineering, but fourteen centuries of neglect had considerably reduced their original excellence During all that time no worthy successors of the Roman roads were built pack-horses, using rough tracks, carried light goods and the mails, heavy traffic usually got stuck in the mud Teams of pack-horses carried the wool down the Yorkshire dales to the Humber[1]; even coal was so carried from Merthyr to Cardiff, until the making of a road down the Taff Vale (1767) Many heavy goods were carried by sea, it is because Britain is an island that the badness of her roads was not earlier remedied Coals had for centuries come from Newcastle to London by sea

Old English Roads

Pack-horses

The unpleasant conditions of travel, which have been described in an earlier chapter,[2] remained with little alteration till the middle of the eighteenth century A beginning was indeed made earlier, in Charles II's time, with the institution of Turnpike Trusts, by which local authorities were empowered to erect toll-gates, and repair the roads with the proceeds of the toll. But village activity did not go much beyond filling up an occasional pit in the highway, it was not till the eighteenth century that Turnpike Trusts were organized on a larger scale, and a real step forward in road-making was taken Coaches were then able to travel much faster, the 'Flying Coach' (1754) advertised speed in the following terms 'However incredible it may appear, this coach will actually (barring accidents) arrive in London in four days and a half after leaving Manchester'

Turnpikes

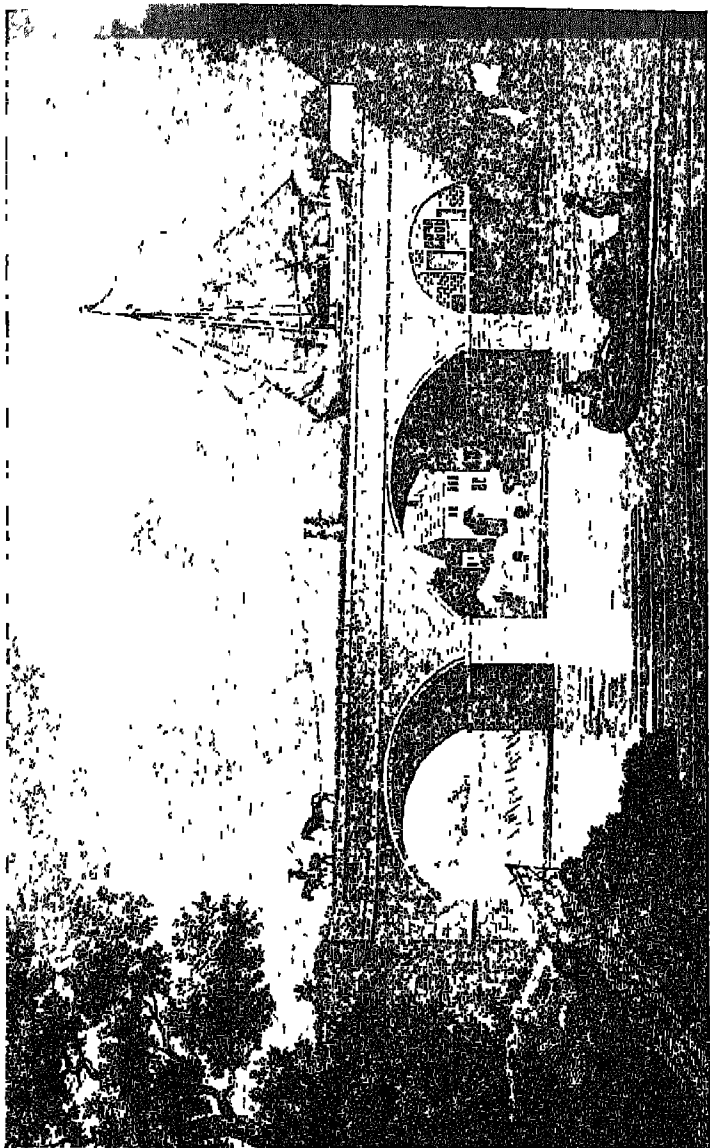
The 'Flying Coach' 1754

The eighteenth century produced three great road engineers —Metcalfe, Telford, and Macadam Metcalfe (1717–1810), known as Blind Jack of Knaresborough, had lost his sight through small-pox at the age of six, yet he knew the wild moors of Yorkshire by heart He designed many of the chief roads in Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Cheshire Thomas Telford

Metcalfe

Telford

[1] The wool was taken all over England in the same manner One may often notice the name 'Wool-pack Inn'

[2] Chapter XXIV (Age of Newton and Wren)

THE AGE OF CANAL-BUILDING

The Bridgewater Canal at Barton Bridge, where it is carried across the river Irwell

(1757–1834), a Scottish shepherd's son, built the Holyhead Road, and he excited the wonder of his contemporaries by constructing the iron suspension-bridge over the Menai Straits (opened 1826), the longest (1,000 feet) suspension bridge in this country

Macadam Roads 1810

It was John Loudon Macadam (1756–1836) who invented an entirely new process of road-making (*c* 1810) It consisted in using small stones, which could be easily crushed (more easily after the invention of the steam-roller) to form a hard yet fairly smooth surface,[1] 'no stone', Macadam said, 'should be larger than the road-mender could put in his mouth' Macadam's discovery has been an immense boon to travellers, from the stage-coach users in 'good King George's golden days' to the modern motorist It transformed travelling conditions, and in 1824 (the year before the first railway) the Manchester–London coach did the journey in twenty-four hours The days of the stage-coach in all its glory were, however, not long, for by the next generation railways had come to divert the main traffic into another channel The coaching inns had to wait for the motor-car before they saw a revival of their prosperity

Coaching Days

Canals

More closely connected with industry was the era of canal building, which had been preceded by a good deal of 'canalization' of rivers English canals, constructed during the second half of the eighteenth century, were built chiefly for the transport of coal The Duke of Bridgewater, who was a large colliery owner, employed James Brindley (1716–72), a brilliant engineer but an illiterate man, to build a canal between Worsley and Manchester (1761) Bridgewater encountered much opposition in Parliament; as Brindley wrote 'The Toores mad had agane ye Duk'[2] But, when the canal opened, the cost of carrying goods between the two towns fell from 12*s* to 6*s* a ton Encouraged by Bridgewater's success, canal companies immediately sprang up all over England The Grand Trunk Canal linked Manchester and Hull with Birmingham and Bristol Telford, the road engineer, built a number of canals in England and Wales, in his native country he built the famous

James Brindley

The Bridgewater Canal, 1761

[1] When tar-spraying was invented in the present century, the Macadam roads were given a new name—Tar-mac

[2] 'The Tories made head against the Duke'

Caledonian Canal Workmen employed in canal-making were known as 'navigators', from which we get the familiar word 'navvy'

The interval between the opening of the Bridgewater Canal in 1761 and the opening of the Stockton and Darlington Railway (the first railway) in 1825, was one of sixty-four years. During this period, which may be taken as the first phase of the Industrial Revolution, canals were the principal means of transport for coal, iron, and the products of the new industries After that the canal, like its contemporary the stage-coach, was overshadowed by the latest application of Watt's invention—the steam locomotive

The Canal Age

4 *The New Towns*

The change from the old to the new England coincided with a remarkable increase in the population The number of people living in England and Wales at the accession of George III (1760) was about 7 millions, that is to say, it had risen slowly from perhaps 1½ millions during the seven centuries since the Norman Conquest In the sixty years of George III's reign, the population of England and Wales nearly doubled, it was 12 millions in 1821 [1] This increase was continued during the nineteenth century at an even greater rate, the population was more than trebled during the hundred years 1821–1921, being 40 millions in the latter year All the reasons for these remarkable increases are not clear, but it seems probable that they were connected with the change from a rural to an urban society It is possible that the new urban workers married earlier and had larger families than had been customary under the old conditions of rural life

The Population of England and Wales

This new urban population grew up in the industrial districts, which were themselves the products of the new machines East Anglia and the Cotswolds, earlier centres of the wool trade, lacked coal-fields, and soon became the pleasant old-world backwaters they still remain Norwich, which for centuries had been the third largest town in England, after London and

[1] In 1801 the first Census was taken, the Census has been taken at ten-year intervals since then Estimates of population before 1801 are, of course, not very accurate

ENGLAND BEFORE THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION, 1730

MAP OF INDUSTRIAL BRITAIN, 1930

The *total* population in 1730 was about 6 millions in 1930 about 45 millions.

The New Towns

Bristol, had sunk to the tenth place by 1801, while such places as Birmingham, Glasgow, Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, Bradford, and Sheffield grew to be huge, sprawling cities, far bigger than anything the old Britain had known (except London)—and far uglier.

A glance at the map (see opposite page) will show where the thickly populated industrial areas lay. With the exception of London, they were all the creation of the Industrial Revolution, during which time there were immigrations of people from the south to the midlands and north—which were for long the most important manufacturing areas in the world This change took place during (roughly) the half century 1775–1825, and though some of the districts once so prosperous are now unfortunately derelict areas (e g south Wales and Tyneside), the general picture remains much the same to-day.

Attitude of Statesmen to the Industrial Revolution

This new industrial Britain came into existence during that remarkable half-century in which Britain lost the thirteen American colonies and helped to defeat Napoleon The statesmen who governed Britain during that time had small conception of the fact that a revolution in the habits of mankind was taking place before their eyes Still less did they at first realize that it was their duty to regulate the change, or to mitigate its evils The result was much avoidable suffering for their own generation and terrible problems for their successors The problems which we, at the present day, have inherited from that period are, broadly speaking, two the slums and the relations between Capital and Labour

Two Problems

The New Industrial Towns

The towns of the Industrial Revolution, it has been said, were 'barracks for cheap labour, not homes for citizens' Their first radical defect was that they were planless, large cities were allowed to grow up haphazard and uncontrolled Secondly, in the first and vital stage of the Industrial Revolution, there were no sanitation laws, consequently the jerry-builder (whose work is evil enough in these days when his activities are partially controlled) could work his will Houses for the workers had to be built as quickly as possible So built they were, sometimes back to back, sometimes without sanitation, lacking light, lacking air, often lacking decency, and always in long, dreary rows of brick and slate The slum, it should be

Lack of Plan and Sanitation

noted, was no new thing, slums had existed since the Middle Ages It was the vast scale of this jerry-building that was new and that defies description

One result of housing vast new populations in this manner was that their descendants often grew up stunted, both in body and in mind The larger the town, the worse the results, for big towns were impossible to escape from before the days of cheap transport And so generations grew up divorced from Nature, a majority of the people of England had never seen England at all. For one of the loveliest countries in the world, they had been given a forest of factory chimneys, and an endless town of mean streets

Lack of Beauty

It is a curious and a saddening reflection that the making of this industrial England aroused very little protest Macaulay is typical of his generation in praising the advance in Man's command over Nature; but he was blind to the fact that the chief sufferer in the process was his fellow man. 'Nowhere (he writes) are manufactures carried to such perfection (as in England) Nowhere does man exercise such a dominion over matter' Again, Wilberforce, in the House of Commons (1806), described the industrial districts of Scotland and south Wales as places which 'Nature seemed to have doomed to perpetual sterility', but which were now 'covered by the fruits of human industry, and gladdened by the face of man'. It was left for William Blake (1757–1827), poet and seer, to speak of the 'dark Satanic mills' where industry was hived, and to call for the building of a worthier England—

> I will not cease from mental fight
> Nor shall my sword sleep in my hand,
> Till we have built Jerusalem
> In England's green and pleasant land.

5 *Laissez-faire*

The second great problem of the modern world—that of the relations between Capital and Labour—is also largely a legacy of the Industrial Revolution To understand this, we must study the process by which British merchants captured the trade of the world, for it was these merchants who created the conditions of modern industry

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Industry encroaching on the country 'An Iron Work, for casting of Cannon, on the banks of the Severn in 1788.'

The age of mechanical invention, and the age of steam power, both began at a moment remarkably well timed for the expansion of British trade The fall of the old Mercantile Empire did not involve any loss of trade, even with America The population of the United States (three millions in 1776) grew rapidly, and for another fifty years the Americans were an agricultural, not a manufacturing people Trade with America grew apace; we imported American cotton, and exported to the States our manufactured goods In 1782 America sent us 5,400 tons of raw cotton, by 1810 this figure had risen to 59,000 tons It was the same with India, which came under our political control about the turn of the century, India was one of the best markets for Lancashire cotton goods Britain captured the trade of the world, West as well as East The goods with which she supplied far-off cities of India, the growing towns of America, the sugar-isles of the Caribbean Sea, and the nations of the Continent of Europe, were all made in Lancashire, Yorkshire, or the midland towns of England

Growth of British Trade

The Markets of the World

The merchants who made their fortune by this world trade profited by the lucky fact—lucky for them—that the Industrial Revolution began in Britain Not only were the new machines invented in Britain, but the country was rich in supplies of coal and iron—the essential materials of the new industries So it came about that Britain was at least half a century ahead of the rest of Europe in applying machinery to manufactures The lead which she thus acquired she did not lose for a century —she did not begin seriously to feel foreign competition till the eighteen-seventies Further, the wealth of British merchants and the skill of British workmen, during the first phase of the Industrial Revolution, enabled the country to carry on the long war against France (1793–1815) The weapons which beat Napoleon were made in Birmingham.

Britain's lead in Industry

The men who made the 'business world' of modern industry claimed the right to manage their affairs in their own way A phrase was coined by some French economists of the period to describe this attitude—*Laissez-faire*! 'Leave things alone'—'Let us alone'—was the cry of the business men It meant that they were to be given a completely free hand, and that the State was to abandon its ancient right to regulate trade, the

Laissez-faire

State, in fact, was not to 'interfere in business'. Now, in the past business had always been, to some extent, regulated. The old Guild System of the Middle Ages had regulated trade down to the minutest detail; in Tudor and Stuart times there had been Acts of Parliament regulating the hours of labour and the rates of wages.[1] Again, the Navigation Acts had regulated the ships in which various goods might be carried to and from Britain.

Opposition to State Interference

To sweep away all these regulations was the aim of the *Laissez-faire* school; it was accomplished during the first half of the nineteenth century. But long before that opinion had veered round to their side. The man who perhaps more than any one else was responsible for this was Adam Smith, who, like James Watt, came from Glasgow. His *Wealth of Nations*, published in 1776, heralded a new era in British commerce, just as the Declaration of Independence, in the same year, proclaimed the fall of the old Mercantile Empire. Adam Smith was the prophet of Free Trade. He held that all government interference is harmful to trade; let the merchants alone (*laissez-faire*), he argued, and they will make Britain a rich country. He made a convert of the new Prime Minister, William Pitt,[2] who reduced many trade restrictions, and prepared the way for the 'Free Trade' of the next century.

Adam Smith *The Wealth of Nations*

Free Trade

Besides desiring free trade with foreign nations, the masters of the new industries were anxious to have complete freedom in dealing with their own work-people. To this end they wished to abolish all the laws which had, from olden times, regulated industry. They succeeded in doing this before the end of the Napoleonic Wars. The Elizabethan Act authorizing magistrates to fix wages was repealed in 1813; the next year the section of the Elizabethan Statute of Artificers which enforced apprenticeship was also repealed. Even before this the masters claimed, and exercised in practice, freedom from State control. The State, they argued, must let masters and men alone to fix up between them a 'free bargain'. Statesmen agreed to let them alone; but they forgot that

Abolition of Regulation of Industry

[1] Especially the great Elizabethan *Statutes of Labourers*. See Chapter XVII.

[2] For Pitt's commercial measures, see next chapter.

the bargain between the masters and men was anything but free Masters can afford to wait, but men must sell their labour in the available market or starve

The results of these conditions of employment were twofold. First, the men did not always get a fair deal, secondly, a spirit of antagonism was created This sometimes led to bitterness between the artisans and the employers But it must be remembered that there had been hardships enough before (as well as during) these industrial changes Both masters and men were trained in a hard school, and many of the new captains of industry were themselves ex-employees risen from the ranks.

Beginning of Class-war

The sufferings of the work-people during the first phase of the Industrial Revolution were undoubtedly great The workers had of necessity to live near the factories, in the new 'towns' built to house them [1] They were also compelled to suffer the iron discipline[2] of the factory itself In a later chapter[3] we shall note some of the evils that were brought to light during the agitation for factory reform It is sufficient to note here that men, women, and small children were made to work for 12, 14, or even 16 hours a day, tending dangerous machines, breathing foul air, ill paid, under-nourished, lacking the ordinary comforts of life, lacking sleep 'Whilst the engine runs the people must work—men, women, and children are yoked together with iron and steam The animal machine is chained fast to the iron machine, which knows no suffering and no weariness ' The iron-hearted men who decreed this state of affairs matched well their iron machines; and few of that generation realized that they were doing wrong

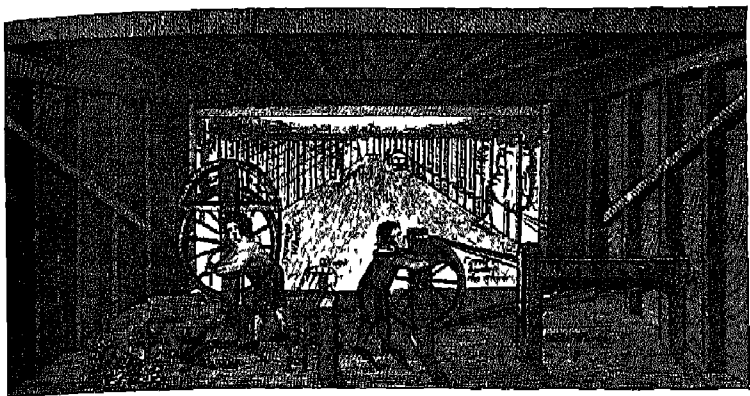
The early Factory System

[1] 'Over the new towns—Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, Birmingham—are hung the banners and scutcheons of the industrial lords, whose indentures and service bind a host more numerous and more dependent than were ever sworn to the bear and ragged staff of a Neville ' (Grant Robertson, *England under the Hanoverians*)

[2] The following were some of the fines inflicted on the workmen at Tyldesley, near Manchester

Any spinner found with his window open .	1*s*
,, ,, ,, dirty at his work	1*s*
,, ,, ,, washing himself . .	1*s*
,, ,, heard whistling .	1*s*

(From Hammond, *Town Labourer*)

[3] Chapter XXXVII, Section 2

The coming of the Factory System *Above*, children at work in a rope factory in the eighteenth century *Below*, a cotton factory (mule-spinning) early in the nineteenth century

XXXI

BRITAIN AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

1 *Pitt's Peace Ministry*

AT the time of the negotiating of the Treaty of Versailles (1783) England was governed by a Whig ministry under Lord Shelburne [1] But from this ministry, the greatest of the Whigs, Charles James Fox, was excluded. Fox was one of the most remarkable men in the history of English politics A fast liver and an inveterate gambler, he was notorious as one of the boon companions of George, Prince of Wales, afterwards the Prince Regent (and later still King George IV). The habits of this section of 'high society' certainly would not lead us to expect that one of its members would have any serious interests Yet Fox had It was one of the queer contradictions of his character that he enjoyed an all-night debate in the Commons as much as he enjoyed an all-night gambling orgy He was no heartless rake—like his royal companion—with no feelings beyond the gratification of his own pleasures, he was a kindly man, and he had a real love of English liberty Like most of the Whigs, he sympathized with the American Revolution, and later on he was foremost among prominent Englishmen in sympathizing with the French Revolution, though doing so cost him both loss of prestige and loss of friends His conduct then proved that the man of fashion had convictions and principles which he valued above popularity or the friendship of princes

Charles James Fox

In 1783 Fox made a premature and unwise bid for power he made a political alliance with Lord North, who for so many years had been the king's trusted servant George was naturally angry at the 'desertion' of North, but for the moment he could do nothing Fox and North together commanded a large majority in the House of Commons, and the king was obliged to appoint a new ministry, in which these unnatural allies were both made Secretaries of State But the king had not long to wait for his revenge. Fox prepared an India Bill—an improve-

The Fox-North Ministry

[1] See above, p 635.

ment on the Regulating Act passed by North ten years before[1] —which passed the House of Commons But the Upper House, strongly influenced by the king, threw it out The king, with unseemly haste, at once sent a message to Fox and North that he had dispensed with their services So fell the Fox–North Coalition, after eight months of power

April–December 1783

The king's choice now fell on young William Pitt,[2] aged 24, who had been Chancellor of the Exchequer under Shelburne Pitt was appointed Prime Minister (December 1783), a position which he held for the next seventeen years The General Election of 1784 confirmed the king's choice, the supporters of North and of Fox lost seat after seat, and the young Premier commanded the confidence of King, Lords, and Commons. This election showed that, even before the great Reform Bill, the people of Britain could express their will when they felt deeply enough on a subject Called in to save the king from Fox and North, William Pitt proved to be something more than a stop-gap 'A kingdom trusted to a schoolboy's care', laughed his enemies; but the 'schoolboy' proved the master of them all He also proved to be the king's master George III came to rely entirely on Pitt, whose position was as supreme as Walpole's had been The decline of the king's mental powers also favoured the ascendancy of the Prime Minister Since Pitt's day that ascendancy has never been lost, the great powers enjoyed by the first minister of the Crown date from the premiership of William Pitt

William Pitt, Prime Minister 1783–1801

Importance of his Premiership

Born in the year of victories, 1759, the second son of the Great Commoner, the younger Pitt had been trained from earliest youth to a political career His serious boyhood, his precocious learning, and his own and his father's ambition, all combined to deprive Pitt of the best thing in life—his youth For Pitt was never young, never knew a life free from care, and when at last, prematurely aged, he sank under the tremendous burden of the Napoleonic War, he had scarcely reached middle

Character of William Pitt

[1] See Chapter XXXIV

[2] Connect *Pitt the Elder* (1708–78), the Great Commoner, afterwards Lord Chatham, with the period of Clive and Wolfe and the American Revolution, and his son, *Pitt the Younger* (1759–1806), with the period of Napoleon and the French Revolution

age. Though he could unbend in private, among a few intimate friends, his manner to colleagues and political foes alike was one of haughty reserve. In the House of Commons, in an age of great debaters, Pitt was always impressive, though he was not his father's equal as an orator. Like his father, he was absolutely indifferent to money. He scorned titles and rewards for himself, though he lavished them—with feelings not unmixed with contempt—on others. His private life was singularly free from the vices of the time, with the exception of that of heavy drinking. Pitt, like most men of that generation, drank far more than was good for his health, particularly of port; and this habit, combined with the toil of his work, helped to undermine his constitution.

India Act 1784

Pitt's first ministry lasted seventeen years, the first ten of which (1783–93) were years of peace. His most successful measure, the India Act of 1784,[1] was passed in his first year of office; it settled the government of India till the Mutiny.

Proposed Reform Bill

Next, the Premier made a half-hearted attempt at Parliamentary Reform, asking leave to introduce a Bill to disfranchise some of the rotten boroughs, the owners of which were to be compensated. But a majority of the Commons (whom he had left free to vote as they liked) were hostile to the measure and he immediately dropped it (1785). In the same year Pitt also tried to bring about a commercial union between

Ireland

England and Ireland. This was also opposed in Parliament, and again the Premier dropped the proposal. Thus two serious questions, Parliamentary Reform and our relations with Ireland, each of which nearly caused a revolution later on, were treated on Walpole's principle—'Let sleeping dogs lie'.

Pitt's Budgets

It was in the realm of finance that Pitt was most happy. He held the post of Chancellor of the Exchequer himself. His Budget of 1784 reduced the high tariff on various articles (e.g. the tea duty was reduced from 50 to 12½ per cent.); this had the excellent effect of making smuggling unprofitable. The loss to the revenue was made up by a variety of taxes—e.g. on windows,[2] hats, and hair-powder. In 1786, Pitt estab-

[1] See Chapter XXXIV.

[2] The window tax led many people to brick up superfluous windows, which may often be observed in old Georgian houses.

The Sinking Fund

lished the Sinking Fund, setting aside £1,000,000 a year—to accumulate at compound interest—to pay off the National Debt He hoped by this means to pay off the Debt in twenty-eight years, little expecting that most of these years would be spent in piling up a further enormous debt for a great continental war

Commercial Treaty with France 1786

Pitt also arranged a Commercial Treaty with France (1786) The duty on French wines was lowered, so that claret could compete in the English market with the products of Portugal, at the same time the French lowered the duty on English cotton, woollen, and steel goods In answer to the ridiculous argument that it was wrong to make such a treaty with our 'hereditary foe', Pitt nobly declared that to say that one nation must always remain the enemy of another was weak and childish Thus, with the co-operation of the French ministers, the first step was taken towards the realization of Adam Smith's ideal of Free Trade [1]

Regency Bill, 1789

In the winter of 1788 political affairs were thrown into confusion by the illness of the king, who had a serious attack of insanity Fox and the Whigs proposed that the royal powers should be exercised in full by the Prince of Wales, since they knew that the prince would at once dismiss Pitt and install them in power. This project was defeated by the Government's Regency Bill (1789), by which the prince was to rule as Regent, but with strictly limited powers The king recovered before the Bill came into operation

Nootka Sound, 1790

In foreign affairs, Pitt scored one success The Spaniards in America had advanced up the Pacific coast from California, in 1789 they ejected some English settlers from Nootka Sound, in Vancouver Pitt insisted that the English were the first comers, and that the island was an English possession The Spaniards gave way, and so the future of what is now British Columbia was assured (1790)

Russia

Pitt was less successful in his relations with Russia The Empress Catherine the Great was busy seizing territory along the Black Sea from Turkey When Pitt protested (1791) against the seizure of Ochakov, Catherine took no notice, and it was obvious that British diplomacy was powerless in the

[1] See above, p 677

east of Europe [1] Shortly afterwards Catherine proceeded, with the aid of the King of Prussia, to despoil her defenceless neighbour, Poland, which soon ceased to exist as an independent country (Second and Third Partitions of Poland, 1793 and 1795) But by that time the outbreak of the Revolution in France had directed the attention of our statesmen elsewhere.

Partitions of Poland

Achievements of Pitt

To sum up Pitt's peace-time achievements, he was, first and foremost, a Premier of such outstanding personality that he overawed both King and Parliament. But for his advent to power our political history might have taken a very different turn. George III might have found another North, or government might have dissolved into hopeless party faction, as at the beginning of the reign Secondly, Pitt was an extremely able Chancellor of the Exchequer, and put our national finances on a sound footing. Thirdly, he was responsible for measures settling the government of India and of Canada, both of which have deservedly been praised [2]

His limitations

His limitations were, however, considerable He was as blind as most of his class to the great revolution in industry which was taking place, and he never saw the crying need for social reform Other reforms, the need for which was at least as urgent, he passed over he failed to tackle the reform of Parliament, and, though he sympathized with the anti-slavery campaign, he had never sufficient political courage to strike at the evil of slavery. Pitt was not a man of vision When the French Revolution came, he failed to realize its great importance, and at first refused to believe that it could concern other countries But at length he was driven, against his will, into a titanic conflict with France, the end of which he did not live to see

Humanitarian movements

One of the most significant changes in English life during the eighteenth century was the growth of the humanitarian movement This was due, in part, to the influence of religious societies like the Quakers and the Methodists The two most important agitations, begun by humane men from no motive

[1] Pitt also intervened in Holland, and arranged a Triple Alliance between Prussia, Britain, and Holland to counteract French influence But his policy did not prove a success

[2] See Chapter XXXIV

of self-seeking, were those conducted against the ill treatment of prisoners, and against slavery

The apostle of prison reforms was John Howard, who spent the greater part of his life in examining the state of prisons in England and in Europe In England he found that an iniquitous system prevailed, by which gaolers, who were paid no salary, were allowed to charge the prisoners for board and rent Since many prisoners could not afford to pay this debt to the gaoler, they remained in prison after their sentence had expired until it was discharged, many poor wretches had been there for years Another evil was the filthy and insanitary state of the prisons The vileness of the prison air was such that Howard declared, after visiting the prison dungeons, that he was unable to travel in a closed carriage, as his clothes were impregnated with the stench Prisoners were often kept in irons and otherwise ill treated, frequently they lost their reason Such things had been going on for centuries, it is to the credit of the men of the late eighteenth century that the public conscience was at last aroused John Howard published his *State of the Prisons* during the American War, he was thanked by Parliament for the revelations which he had made, and some of the worst evils were dealt with by legislation (1784) Howard also made several journeys on the Continent, and visited the prisons of the chief European countries Elizabeth Fry (1780–1845), a Quaker, was a later prison reformer, and she did much to improve the conditions among women prisoners

John Howard (1726–90)

State of the Prisons

Elizabeth Fry (1780–1845)

Perhaps the noblest achievement of the eighteenth century was the movement for the abolition of the Slave Trade Africa had formed a slave-market for Europe since Roman times After the Romans, the Arabs continued to raid Africa for slaves, and when the first Christian traders—the Portuguese—appeared off the West African coast in the fifteenth century, they also followed the same cruel custom In the next century the Spaniards and Portuguese began the Atlantic slave trade, and their example was followed by the English, led by John Hawkins This slave trade, between Africa and the West Indies or the Southern States of America, had been in progress above two hundred years when Pitt came to power, and Britain had the greatest share of it It was in 1787 that

The Slave Trade

The Anti-Slavery Campaign (1788–1833)

twelve men—of whom nine were Quakers—met together to form a Committee for the Suppression of the Slave Trade The two most prominent members of this committee were Thomas Clarkson and William Wilberforce Wilberforce, who was a well-known member of Parliament and a friend of Pitt, tried, for many years unsuccessfully, to persuade Parliament to abolish the Slave Trade But it was the efforts of Clarkson and others in arousing the public conscience to the diabolical nature of the trade that ensured the eventual success of the movement One of the worst cruelties of the whole business, apart from the actual capture of the slaves, was the way in which the negroes were crowded together in the slave-ships, which plied their dreadful trade across the Atlantic The horrors of the 'middle passage', as it was called, cannot be described. suffice it to say that the 'Black Hole' of Calcutta was worse only in degree than the holds of the British slave-ships It was usual for 45 per cent. of the slaves to die on the voyage to America, it was not uncommon for as many as 80 per cent to perish.

The 'Middle Passage'

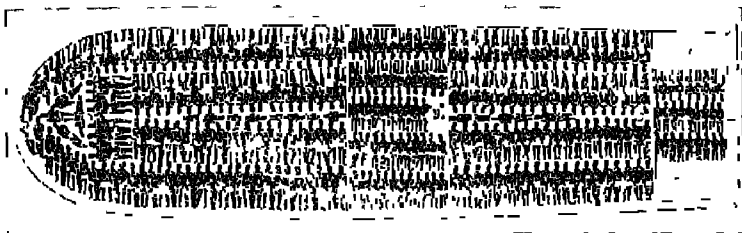
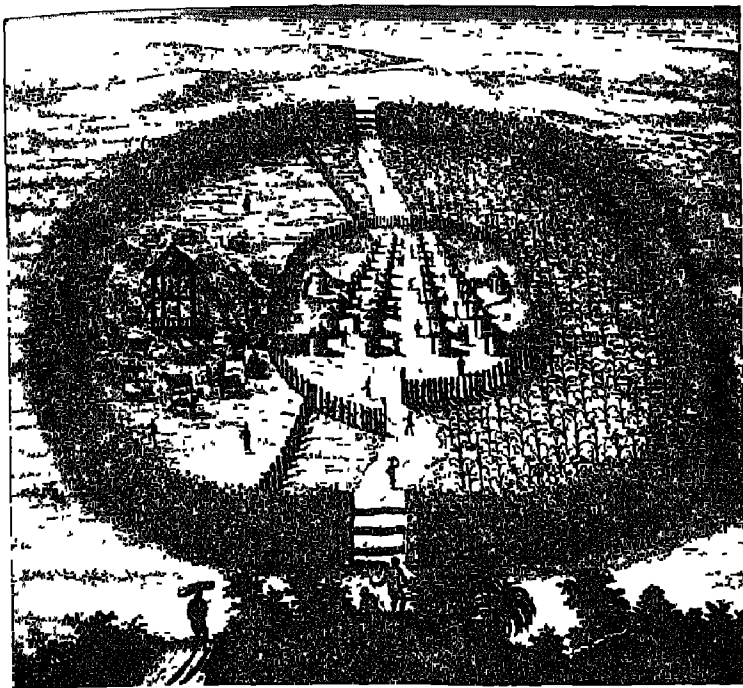
The Slave Trade was first discussed in Parliament in 1788, and in the same year a Bill was passed to check the cruelties of the 'middle passage' But Wilberforce had to wait another nineteen years before Parliament abolished the Slave Trade, and it was a generation after that (1833) before the slaves in the British Empire were set at liberty [1]

2 *The French Revolution*

European Despotisms

The eighteenth century has sometimes been called the Age of the Enlightened Despot There were certainly plenty of despots in Europe, and some of them, like the Emperor Joseph II, were enlightened men No continental country had anything to compare with the parliamentary rule under a constitutional king, which had flourished in Great Britain since 1689 The Tsars of Russia, the Hapsburg rulers of Austria, and the Kings of Prussia were all monarchs whose rule was absolute in their own dominions, and the example of these great sovereigns was imitated by the princelings of every petty German and Italian court France, above all, was the home of despotism The grand structure of the French monarchy,

The French Monarchy

[1] See below, Chap XXXIX.

THE SLAVE TRADE

Above, an African village enclosed for defence against wild beasts and slave-raiders *Below*, a plan of the lower deck of a slave-ship, showing how 292 slaves (men, women, and children) were carried in a space 100 ft long by 25 ft wide.

raised by Cardinal Richelieu and Louis XIV in the seventeenth century, was the most imposing in Europe In France, all political rivals to the power of the monarch had been ruthlessly swept away, the States-General (which had in the Middle Ages corresponded roughly with the English Parliament) had not met since 1614

The French Nobility There were great social inequalities in France The nobles had indeed lost all political power, but they had retained, from medieval times, the social privileges attaching to their rank. They were exempt from the payment of the heavier taxes which pressed so hardly on their inferiors, and they were lords of their own villages, where the peasant was forced, as in the Middle Ages, to contribute to the upkeep of the château The French nobility were an idle class, debarred by custom from marrying with the lower orders, and so there was a great gulf fixed between them and the rest of the population. The lot of the peasants was extremely hard The government took 50 per cent of their earnings in taxation, the lord of the château another 30 per cent

The Peasants and the Bourgeoisie It was not, however, the miseries of the peasants which directly produced the French Revolution, nor, indeed, were the hardships they endured as bad as those endured by other European workers The ferment of ideas, which produced the Revolution, arose in the middle class, the bourgeoisie, which included tradesmen, lawyers, doctors, and all the thinking and reading section of the community The influence of the great French writers of the period on this class was profound

Voltaire (1694–1778) Voltaire, who spent the latter part of his life in exile in Switzerland, attacked injustice wherever he saw it He had himself suffered under the monstrous system of *lettres de cachet*, whereby the French government was enabled to imprison any man for an indefinite period without trial, and without cause shown Voltaire cried out against the barbarous laws, relics of the Middle Ages, by which, in France, men were sent to a cruel death, or to lifelong imprisonment, for small offences In particular, Voltaire attacked the Catholic Church for persecuting men in the name of religion His writings helped to awaken a public conscience in France

Rousseau Another writer whose work had a profound effect was Jean

Jacques Rousseau In his famous book, *The Social Contract*, Rousseau developed the idea that kings and rulers governed states owing to a contract with their subjects. If the rulers did not fulfil this contract, then it was the right and duty of the people to oppose them [1] They would then return to a 'state of nature', where everything was good and beautiful, and would be able to set up a democracy which—in small states at least—he declares to be the best form of government Historically this argument is unsound, since both the 'contract' and the beauty of a 'state of nature' are imaginary But Rousseau's reasoning fired many thinkers in France, it helped to turn men's minds towards revolution When the opportunity came, many followers of Rousseau were ready to hack the old system to pieces and set up a new society in its place

Financial troubles

It was financial difficulties which brought the old French monarchy to its ruin. The effort of the Maritime War (1778–83)[2] had indeed fulfilled its object in defeating Britain, but the expense of the war crippled the French Government Louis XVI (1774–92), a well-meaning young man, gave his confidence to several finance ministers in turn, but they were all unable to make the French state solvent The peasants were already taxed to the limit of endurance, to impose a drastic tax on the property of the nobles might have solved the difficulty but no one contemplated taking such a step Finally, in May 1789, Louis summoned the States-General, which had not met for 175 years

Meeting of the States-General May 1789

The States-General, which met at Versailles, was divided into three 'estates' clergy, nobles, and the Tiers État It voted by estates, not by the number of individual votes and the Tiers État saw that they would always be outvoted by the other two After some quarrelling with the other estates, the Tiers État insisted on the formation of a National Assembly,[3] and swore that it should not separate until it had drawn up a new

[1] Rousseau's *Le Contrat Social* (1760) opened with the bold statement 'Man is born free, yet he is everywhere in chains' The *American Declaration of Independence* (1776) borrowed his theories of the rights of man, including the 'sacred rights of insurrection'

[2] See above, pp 631–5

[3] The National Assembly contained nearly all the members of the Tiers État, and some members of the other two estates.

constitution for France Louis XVI consented to this arrangement, and so the National Assembly set to work But very soon King Louis, spurred on by his spirited queen, Marie Antoinette, tried to overawe the Assembly by a display of military force. The Paris mob then interfered for the first, but not for the last, time in the Revolution. There was a riot during which the old state prison, the Bastille, was burnt to the ground (July 1789) Later in this memorable year, the mob forcibly escorted the king, queen, and members of the royal family from Versailles to Paris, where they took up their abode in the Tuileries Palace

Fall of the Bastille July 1789

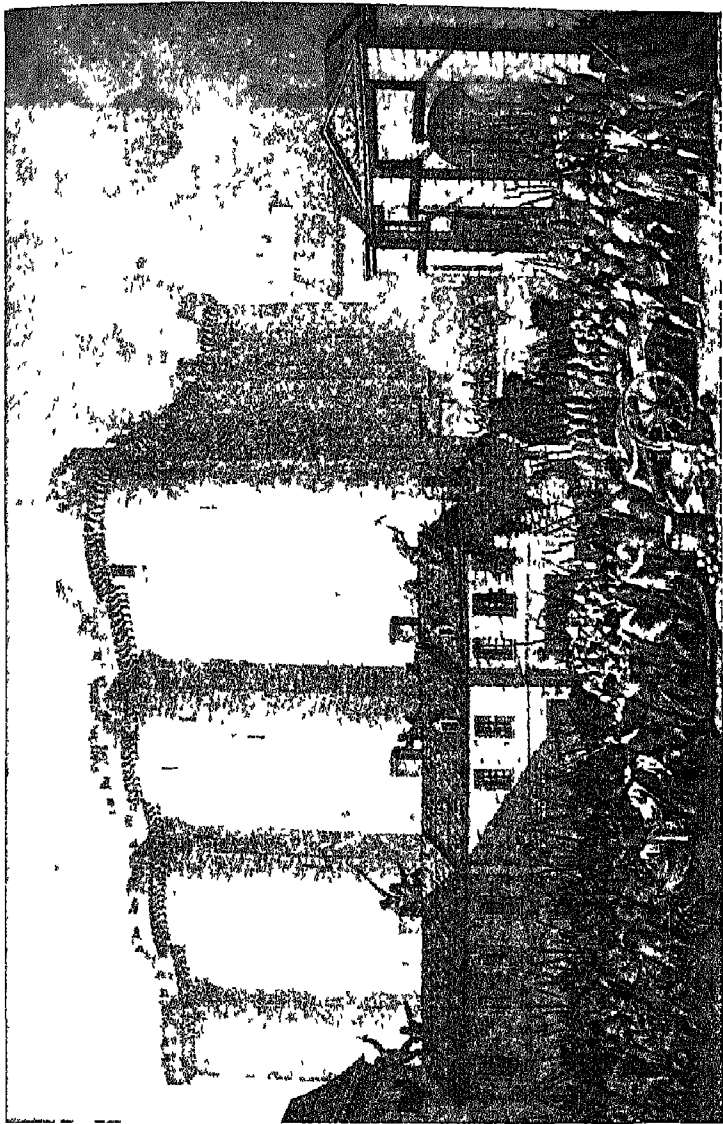
The work of the Constituent Assembly, as the National Assembly was now called,[1] went on uninterruptedly after the summer of 1789 The constitution-makers derived their ideas partly from the example of England, partly from the successful revolution which had just taken place in America, and partly from general theories, such as those of Rousseau Modelling their conduct on that of the Americans, the French drew up a declaration, called the Declaration of the Rights of Man (August 1789) Some of the clauses of this famous document laid down that men are born free and equal in rights, that sovereignty resides in the people, that law is the expression of the general will, and that no man should be molested for his opinions, provided his conduct does not injure the community A few days after the issue of this Declaration, an enthusiastic Assembly declared that the remains of feudalism, such as feudal dues paid to the nobles, should be abolished throughout France, and many nobles voluntarily gave up their privileges

Work of the Constituent Assembly

Declaration of the Rights of Man, 1789

The new constitution was far from perfect, but it was an improvement on the former government of Louis XVI The absolute monarchy was replaced by a limited monarchy, the king could delay the action of the laws in certain cases, but he could not override them There was to be one Assembly elected by the people, who were also to elect their own officials, including the civil servants, judges, and even the bishops and clergy Louis XVI tried to escape from a humiliating position —as he considered it—by flight from the country He was

The French Constitution of 1790

[1] 'Constituent', because its work was to drawn up a new constitution

THE TAKING OF THE BASTILLE BY THE REVOLUTIONARY MOB IN JULY 1789

detected near the frontier at Varennes, and brought back to Paris a prisoner (June 1791)

Legislative Assembly 1791–2

The Meeting of the Legislative Assembly—as the Assembly elected under the new constitution was called—took place in September 1791 At first it seemed that the constitution would work, and that the Revolution was over But it was not so The king was horrified at the laws which reduced the priests throughout France to the level of servants of the state, no good Catholic could agree with such an arrangement In the country districts a revolt, religious in character, began, with this the king was in full sympathy Another cause of friction was the action of certain of the nobility, who had fled across the frontier to Germany, and who were intriguing with the German princes against the new French Government The Assembly now decided to confiscate the property of these emigrés, as they were called The king disapproved, his own brothers were among the emigrés But he soon resolved that he must himself rely on foreign help, if the ancient monarchy of France was ever to be restored

The Clergy

The Emigrés

Meanwhile, the emigrés were doing their best to persuade the German governments to act against France In August 1791, Austria and Prussia issued a Declaration, from Pillnitz, warning the revolutionaries to do no harm to the king But, when Louis XVI agreed to the new constitution, they declared themselves satisfied It is untrue to say that France was attacked by the military monarchies of Europe, France went to war in order to consolidate the Revolution The Girondists—the party in power—declared war on 20 April 1792, and Austria and Prussia launched a half-hearted attack

War with Austria and Prussia 1792

The advance of the German armies under the Duke of Brunswick, and the suspicion that the king was intriguing with the enemy, produced a violent revolution in Paris, which involved the fall of the monarchy The Revolution of 10 August (1792) was engineered by the extremist party, known as the Jacobins The Tuileries was stormed and taken, and the king's Swiss guards massacred Louis XVI surrendered, and the monarchy was formally abolished A month later a new assembly, called the Convention (1792–5) was elected At the same time, Republican armies were raised all over France to

Revolution of 10 Aug. 1792

defend the country and the Revolution. It was then that the September Massacres, which horrified Europe, took place in Paris Thousands of royalists, priests, and nobles were dragged out of prison and done to death in the streets The massacre was caused by a fear that the prisoners might escape, and that it was not safe to leave them behind while the army marched away to defend the frontier

September Massacres

A tremendous enthusiasm inspired the French soldiers as they marched, singing the new revolutionary song, the *Marseillaise*, to defend the Republic The republican watchwords were 'Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity', and for these ideals the soldiers of the Revolution were ready to die The history of the world was changed by the battle of Valmy (September 1792) when Brunswick's army retreated before the ragged and ill-disciplined but enthusiastic soldiers of the Republic[1] Henceforth nothing could stop the French, they defeated the well-drilled soldiers of the benevolent despots time and time again, against all military calculation

Valmy 1792

In Paris, enthusiasm for the Revolution increased after Valmy, the Convention passed a resolution saying that France would help all nations struggling to be free The king was brought to trial and executed as a traitor to his country (January 1793) 'We fling down, as a gage of battle,' said Danton, 'the head of a king' The Jacobins knew now that they must win or die Soon the more moderate men were excluded from power, a Reign of Terror began, under the auspices of the cruel but efficient Committee of Public Safety.

Execution of Louis XVI 1793

To understand the events of the Reign of Terror, we must first appreciate the fact that France was now fighting for her life against a Europe fearful of revolution and bent on her destruction The alliance of Britain (1793), Austria, Prussia, and Spain was a formidable one, the French were attacked on all their frontiers It was in these circumstances that the Committee of Public Safety ruled with a ruthlessness seldom paralleled in the history of the world Royalist prisoners were

The Reign of Terror 1793–4

[1] The battle itself was a very small affair it is important because of its results Dumouriez, the French commander, opened negotiations with Brunswick after the battle, with the result that the threat to Paris was removed

first put to death, then, as the inner circle of the revolutionary leaders narrowed, all those who disagreed with the extremists were guillotined The Catholic-Royalist rebellions in Brittany, La Vendée, and Lyons were crushed with fearful barbarities; the waters of the Rhone and the Loire ran red with the blood of the enemies of the Republic Within two years—by 1795—these methods had succeeded, opposition to the Revolution in France itself was stamped out And, by that time, the Jacobin armies were marching in triumph over their neighbours' territories [1]

As the danger was removed, the Terror died away, and among the things drowned in its blood was the idealism of the early revolutionaries Those who survived in positions of power were self-seeking intriguers The Committee of Public Safety was abolished, and the Convention gave way to a new Government called the Directory (five Directors and two Assemblies) which ruled France for five years (1795–9) It was during these years that the military genius of Napoleon Bonaparte was first shown to the world

The Directory 1795–9

3 *Burke, Fox, and Pitt*

In England the first news of the French Revolution was received by all classes with feelings of delight When Fox heard of the fall of the Bastille, he said 'How much the greatest event it is in the history of the world, and how much the best!' The ancient despotism of the Bourbons, so long Britain's most dangerous enemy, was at last brought low A parliamentary experiment was to be tried in France, and the labours of the National Assembly were followed sympathetically.

Fox and the French Revolution

The publication of Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution* (1790) struck a different note Burke warned his readers that power in France would certainly pass into more and more violent hands as the Revolution proceeded, and that the probable outcome would be a military despotism The correctness of these prophecies—which were fulfilled in the Reign of Terror and the advent of Napoleon—was certainly remarkable. But, in spite of this, Burke entirely failed to appreciate the true significance of the French Revolution He foresaw, more

Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution* 1790

Its limitations

[1] See next Chapter.

clearly than most men, its immediate consequences, he was blind to its effects on the history of the world For the French Revolution had sounded the trumpet-call of Liberty, wherever that call was heard, it meant the end of the autocratic *ancien régime* of priest and king In France itself the Jacobins made mistakes, and committed crimes, but at least the old days of the starving peasant and the rich seigneur were gone, never to return

Burke's book, which had a profound effect in England, showed the reaction of the governing classes to the growing anarchy in France To him, and to them, the English constitution, set up by the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688, was the last word in perfection, beyond that he could not see England had been ruled for a hundred years by her aristocracy, that the aristocracy should ever share its power with the common people was, in 1789, a strange and revolting idea It was the fear that the example of the Jacobins might be followed in England that attracted the governing classes to Burke's view The Revolution was dangerous, said Burke, because it included attacks on property, the upholders of the rights of property must rally in their own defence These views naturally gained ground after the September Massacres (1792) and the execution of Louis XVI (1793) had shown the correctness of Burke's opinion of the course of the Revolution

Paine's *Rights of Man* 1791–2

A reply to Burke was forthcoming when Tom Paine issued his *Rights of Man* (1791). Paine, an English Quaker's son who had lived in America, was a strong supporter of the American and French Revolutions His pamphlet—which sold in tens of thousands—insisted that the people had the right to alter any existing government at their pleasure These democratic views found many supporters in England, it was only when (in 1792) Paine published the second part of his book that he became unpopular For then he praised the republican form of government, and people were so alarmed by events in France that they rallied to the established order and the 'good old king'

The Whig Split, 1792

The opinions expressed in Burke's *Reflections* on the one hand, and in Paine's *Rights of Man* on the other, reflected the two extremes of English thought The bulk of the nation, disgusted by the excesses in France, took Burke's view In

politics, a large majority of the Whig party, led by the Duke of Portland and by Burke, went over to Pitt, and helped to swell the ranks of the Tories Fox quarrelled with Burke and, together with his young friend Charles Grey, formed a new Whig party of his own (1792) Charles Grey, a young man of noble family, destined to give England Parliamentary Reform forty years later, was the founder of a society called the 'Friends of the People', the object of which was to encourage democratic ideas in England The action of Fox and Grey in breaking away from Burke, and holding a point of view diametrically opposed to that of most of their own class, was extremely important It kept alive a liberal-minded spirit at a time when all ideas of liberty were in danger of being swept away in the tide of war

Charles Grey

War (1793) and Reaction

War was declared in 1793 [1] War meant that the mildest suggestion of reform was labelled 'Jacobin'—something favouring the enemies of England War meant that Pitt put aside whatever ideas of liberty he had ever held Something very like a panic seized the rulers of England During 1793 and 1794, various men were tried for holding democratic opinions which we should now consider very ordinary, people were imprisoned merely for advocating 'representative government' Two men, Muir and Palmer, were sentenced by the Scottish judge, Braxfield, to transportation to Botany Bay for holding such opinions Then, in 1794, came the trial of Thomas Hardy, who had founded a working-men's club, called the Corresponding Society Hardy was accused of treason, and tried for his life As there was no evidence to convict him, he was acquitted, after this the panic somewhat subsided [2] But in the same year (1794) the Government suspended the Habeas Corpus Act, which meant that any suspected 'Jacobins' could be seized and kept in prison without trial Thus one of the fundamental bases of English liberty was attacked under the stress of the panic caused by the French Revolution

Trial of Hardy 1794

Habeas Corpus Act suspended 1794

These were dark days indeed for England, and for English liberty. The war, like most other wars, was turning out to be

[1] See next Chapter

[2] Grey said that, if Hardy had been convicted, his own life would not have been safe

a longer and harder struggle than was at first anticipated. There was a series of bad harvests, poverty and destitution gripped the land Meanwhile 'wage-slaves' in factories and negro slaves in cotton plantations made the wheels of industry revolve. Humane men suggested reforms, but Pitt had now no ears for reformers His Government was concerned only with the danger from Jacobins—real Jacobins in France, possible Jacobins in England

Distress of the Country

One remedy—and that a bad one—was tried to relieve the labouring population The Berkshire magistrates met (1795) at the Pelican Inn, Speenhamland,[1] near Newbury, to discuss the wages of labourers They saw that something must be done to relieve poverty and suffering, and they decided to make up wages out of the parish rates. They drew up a scale by which the parishes had to make up a man's wage to 3*s* a week for himself, and 1*s* 6*d* each for the members of his family At this time the loaf cost 1*s* , if the price of bread rose, the scale was to rise with it This system had three bad results First, it encouraged masters to pay lower wages, since they knew that the rate-payers would have to make up the deficiency, secondly, it thrust an unfair burden on the rate-payers,[2] thirdly, it pauperized the working population by giving them a 'dole' instead of a fair wage. Nevertheless, the Speenhamland system was adopted in all the other counties, and it remained in force for another forty years

The Speenhamland decision 1795

Its defects

A few years after this, the Government, still fearing for the preservation of law and order, struck a blow at the factory workers. By the Combination Acts (1799 and 1800), it was made a punishable offence for workmen to combine with each other for the purpose of demanding an increase in wages Trades Unions, which were already in existence, were thus made illegal Two ideas inspired this legislation First, workmen's unions were regarded as a political danger, for the Government was still nervous of Jacobins Secondly, as we

The Combination Acts 1799 and 1800

[1] The system became general after 1795, and Speenhamland gave its name to it But rates in aid of wages had been given intermittently for years before

[2] The Poor Rate for the whole country was under 2 millions in 1783, in 1813 it was 6½ millions

have seen above,[1] Parliament considered that the masters of industry must be given a free hand, and therefore that their workmen ought not to combine against them The Combination Act remained in force for a quarter of a century

Deprived of their land by the Enclosure system, pauperized by Speenhamland, and victimized by the factory-owners, the poor of England were hard hit during the time of George III At the same time, the liberty of the subject sadly declined, the trials for sedition, the suspension of Habeas Corpus, and the passing of the Combination Acts meant that all hope of reform was indefinitely postponed The excuse for all this was the grave danger of the country in the midst of the French Revolutionary War (see next chapter)

4 *The Romantic Revival*

The period of the French Revolution and the wars which followed it coincides with what is called the 'Romantic Revival' in English literature, a period only second in importance to the Age of Shakespeare It derives its character from the fact that English poetry then recovered its naturalness and its delight in simple everyday things. The poets of the age were in revolt against the formality of the eighteenth century, the Romantic Revival was a return to Nature

A return to Nature

This revived interest in Nature was intimately connected with the stirring political events of the time Wordsworth, the prophet of the age, spent his young manhood in the stormy times of the French Revolution, Keats, Shelley, and Byron all grew up in the shadow of the great French war

The Romantic Revival in England occurred just after the death of the greatest poet whom the sister country, Scotland, had produced Robert Burns, who died in 1796,[2] was the son of a peasant But, like many Scottish peasants' sons, he was brought up with a knowledge of literature, especially of the old ballad poetry of the north The author of 'Auld Lang Syne'

Robert Burns

[1] See Section 5, Chapter XXX The Government forbade Combinations among the masters as well as among the workmen, but the employers were so few in number, comparatively, that the Act made no difference, and they continued to make arrangements among themselves

[2] He was the same age as Pitt, but he died even younger, at thirty-seven

and of a dozen other songs equally well known (e g. 'The Banks o' Doon' and 'Ae Fond Kiss') is rightly acclaimed as the national poet of Scotland The note of pathos is often found in Burns's love songs ('When I think on the happy days I spent wi' you, my dearie'), and his generous, large-hearted nature could feel even the troubles of the 'beasties' and birds, as well as of men

> Ilk happing[1] bird, wee helpless thing!
> That, in the merry months of spring,
> Delighted me to hear thee sing,
> What comes o' thee?
> Whare wilt thou cour thy chittering wing
> An' close thy e'e?

Two years after the death of Burns, *Lyrical Ballads* was published It was the work of two great English poets, William Wordsworth and Samuel Taylor Coleridge.

William Wordsworth (1770–1850)

Wordsworth was born[2] at Cockermouth, Cumberland, and went to school at Hawkshead Grammar School, where they still show you the tiny schoolroom in which the poet learnt his lessons From school, Wordsworth passed to St. John's College, Cambridge, and during one vacation he paid his first visit to France, then in the throes of revolution In 1795 he met Coleridge, and the two afterwards settled down in neighbouring Somerset villages to produce, jointly, a book of poems called *Lyrical Ballads* (1798)

Coleridge (1772–1834)

According to the Preface of this book, the poets' object was 'to choose incidents and situations from common life, and to relate and describe them in a selection of language really used by men'. This was the object which Wordsworth pursued throughout his life, simplicity, both of subject-matter and language, was the key-note of his writing It is the setting forth of these views which makes the publication of the *Lyrical Ballads* an important landmark in English literature Apart from the authors' views, the book would have been important if

***Lyrical Ballads* 1798**

[1] 'Each hopping'

[2] Wordsworth, like Beethoven, was born in the year 1770 J M W Turner, one of the greatest exponents of Nature in colour, was born five years after Wordsworth See the fine collection of Turners in the Tate Gallery, London

only for its inclusion of Coleridge's *Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, one of the half-dozen greatest poems in the English language. The sense of horror which the author conveys in some passages—

The *Ancient Mariner*

> The many men, so beautiful!
> And they all dead did lie,
> And a thousand thousand slimy things
> Lived on, and so did I.

—is only equalled in intensity by the beauty which he portrays in others:

> A noise like of a hidden brook,
> In the leafy month of June,
> That to the sleeping woods all night
> Singeth a quiet tune

To return to Wordsworth, it is worth while to examine the two most potent influences on his life, because they were typical of the new age that was dawning First he was deeply influenced by the French Revolution, which he witnessed during his first visit to France He has described this influence in his *The Prelude* (written 1799–1805)

Wordsworth's *Prelude*

> O pleasant exercise of hope and joy!
> For mighty were the auxiliars which then stood
> Upon our side, us who were strong in love!
> Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
> But to be young was very Heaven!

Influence of the French Revolution

No one will ever understand the French Revolution who does not appreciate the fact that it was welcomed by youthful, ardent spirits such as Wordsworth's He lived indeed to see his first hopes for the freedom of mankind crushed, he witnessed the tyranny of Napoleon, and the overthrow of liberty in the land of its new birth [1]

Influence of Nature

The second influence on Wordsworth's character came from his boyhood, it was that of Nature, as he knew and loved her in the hills and dales of the Lake District In 1808, when he was thirty-eight, Wordsworth retired to the Lakes, and lived there for the remaining forty-two years of his life Henceforth he abjured the 'busy haunts of men', and found in Nature all the happiness that life could give

[1] See next Chapter

To appreciate the services of Wordsworth and the 'Lake School', not only to English literature but to English life, it is necessary to understand the entirely different feelings with which the beauties of Nature were regarded by our ancestors John Evelyn, the diarist, when he saw the lovely forest of Fontainebleau (in 1644), thus described it 'By the way we passed through a forest so prodigiously encompassed with hideous rocks . that I think the like is nowhere to be found more horrid and solitary' Again, Defoe (in 1725) describes Westmorland, which Wordsworth so loved, as 'a county eminent only for being the wildest, most barren and frightful of any that I have passed over in England or in Wales'.

That these opinions are no longer held by English people is due largely to the influence of Wordsworth and his contemporaries His own joy in natural beauty is shown in nearly every poem that he wrote, and especially in the *Ode on the Intimations of Immortality*, and in *Tintern Abbey*

> How oft, in spirit, have I turn'd to thee,
> O sylvan Wye, thou wanderer thro' the woods!
> How often has my spirit turn'd to thee!

Byron (1788–1824)

A very different character from the quiet poet of the Lakes was Lord Byron Byron, the spoiled child of Fortune, attained European fame as a poet before he was thirty In spite of his faults—and they were many—Byron never lost the early enthusiasm for liberty which he derived from the French Revolution, and he died at last in a foreign land, fighting against the Turks for the freedom of the Greece he loved so well.

Shelley (1792–1822)

An equally ardent spirit was Percy Bysshe Shelley, who was sent down from Oxford for writing a pamphlet called *The Necessity of Atheism* Shelley spent a brief, unhappy life in fighting forces too strong for him His hatred of all forms of tyranny is shown in his political poems (1818–21), but his lasting title to fame rests on *Prometheus Unbound*, *Adonais*, and on his many beautiful lyrics, such as the *Ode to the West Wind*, and the lyric beginning,

> I dream'd that as I wandered by the way
> Bare Winter suddenly was changed to Spring [1]

[1] *Golden Treasury*, No 268

Shelley was drowned off Leghorn in 1822, when he was only thirty and at the height of his powers John Keats, who also died in Italy before he was twenty-five,[1] was a friend of Shelley and Byron His chief works are *Endymion*, *Hyperion*, *The Eve of St Agnes*, and his wonderful odes—e g. *Ode to a Nightingale*, *Ode on a Grecian Urn*, and *To Autumn*—which are among the loveliest things in the English language. In *La Belle Dame Sans Merci* we get a glimpse of almost uncanny beauty, which reminds us of some of the passages of the *Ancient Mariner*

Keats (1795–1821)

A contemporary of these short-lived poets was Sir Walter Scott His lays and ballads were the outcome of a life spent in deep reading of Scottish history, and of a mind saturated with the legends of the Border His *Lay of the Last Minstrel* (1805) achieved an immediate success, it was shortly followed by *Marmion* and the *Lady of the Lake* In 1814, Scott wrote his first novel, *Waverley*, the first of the long series of the Waverley Novels, by the writing of which Scott strove, in his later years, to pay off the burden of a large debt The best of the Waverley Novels are those which deal with Scottish history, like *The Heart of Midlothian* and *Old Mortality*.

Scott (1771–1832)

Waverley 1814

[1] Shelley's *Adonais* (1821) is an elegy on the death of John Keats

XXXII

THE GREAT FRENCH WAR (1793-1815)

1. *The First Coalition*

THE outbreak of the French Revolution, and its progress to the summer of 1792, did not inspire British statesmen with a wish to interfere with the course of events in France. As we have seen, the Germanic powers, as early as April 1792, went to war with the avowed purpose of restoring the French monarchy to its former position. Pitt did not share that aim. As late as February (1792) he made a speech, prophesying fifteen years of peace for Britain, and moved a reduction in our military and naval forces. Exactly twelve months later, Britain embarked on one of the longest wars in modern history.

Pitt and Peace February 1792

It was the events of the last five months of 1792 that caused Pitt to change his mind. In September came the massacres in Paris, which filled most Englishmen with horror and alarm. In November the French troops invaded the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium) and rapidly overran that country. In the same month, the Convention issued a decree (19 November) saying that they would help all nations who wished to regain their liberty.[1] The French, moreover, declared the navigation of the River Scheldt open, any treaties to the contrary notwithstanding. As Britain had, for the benefit of Holland, signed treaties[2] which gave the control of the Scheldt to the Dutch, she could not approve of the French action. Besides, Antwerp in French hands might prove a serious rival to the Port of London. Pitt therefore gave the British answer to the French claims in memorable words: 'England will never consent that France shall arrogate the power of annulling at her pleasure, and under the pretence of a pretended natural right, of which

French aggression 1792

The Scheldt

[1] 'La Convention Nationale déclare au nom de la Nation Française qu'elle accordera fraternité et secours à tous les peuples qui voudront recouvrer leur liberté.'

[2] The last one was signed in 1788. The British were, in their own interest, anxious to prevent the development of Antwerp.

she makes herself the only judge, the political system of Europe, established by solemn treaties and guaranteed by the consent of all the Powers'

The execution of Louis XVI in January 1793 inflamed all England against France, and there was now no hope of preserving peace War was declared by the Convention on Britain and Holland on 1 February 1793 George III wrote to Lord Grenville, the Foreign Secretary, saying that the declaration of war 'is highly agreeable to me' He went on to say that England would, he hoped, 'curb the insolence of those despots (the French government) and be the means of restoring some degree of order to that unprincipled country, whose aim at present is to destroy the foundations of every civilized state'.

War with France 1793

The war which thus broke out continued with two brief intervals for twenty-two years Pitt's conception of waging it was twofold First, he used British money to maintain a European coalition against France He looked to his allies, to whom he paid subsidies in cash, to bear the brunt of the land attack on the common enemy, our own military effort was very small Secondly, he intended to use British naval power[1] to destroy French commerce, to seize French colonies, and to deliver attacks on the French Atlantic and Mediterranean ports

Pitt's War Policy

The First Coalition (1793–5) consisted of Britain, Austria, Prussia, Holland, Spain, and Sardinia. A small British army, under the Duke of York, was sent to assist the Austrians and Prussians in the Netherlands The allied efforts, however, were of little avail, the French kept their hold on Belgium, and invaded Holland The Dutch navy, held fast in the frozen Rhine, was captured by a detachment of French cavalry (1794) Holland became, like Belgium, an appanage of France,[2] the Dutch were forced to change sides and fight against their former allies

The First Coalition 1793–5

Britain's efforts to aid the Royalists in France were no more

[1] It was during these French Wars that Charles Dibdin wrote his popular sea-songs (e g *Tom Bowling*), and Thomas Campbell his war-songs (e g *Ye Mariners of England*)

[2] Belgium was incorporated in France, Holland became the Batavian Republic

successful than the Netherlands campaign An expedition sent to Quiberon in Brittany arrived too late to help the Royalists there Then Admiral Hood entered Toulon harbour (1793) at the invitation of the citizens, who were opposed to the Revolution. But a Republican army besieged the town, and the British fleet in the harbour was fired on by Lieutenant Bonaparte's guns, and forced to withdraw. Such was the first round of the fight between Britain and her arch-enemy At sea, Lord Howe won a five-days' battle usually called the 'Glorious First of June' (1794), capturing six French battleships

Admiral Hood at Toulon 1793

First of June 1794

Between 1795 and 1797 England was deserted by all her allies Holland, as we have seen, was forced into a French alliance Then Prussia made peace (Treaty of Basle, 1795) in order to turn her attention to the subjugation of the unfortunate Poles. Poland had just been finally partitioned between the robber Powers (Prussia, Austria, and Russia) under the Second and Third Partitions (1793 and 1795) [1] Prussia kept out of the French war for another ten years The Spaniards also made peace in 1795, and in the following year they decided to change sides and throw in their lot with France This caused the British to withdraw their Mediterranean fleet to Gibraltar (January 1797).

Prussia and Spain

Events were thus going badly enough for Britain when a new star appeared on the horizon Napoleon Bonaparte, a young Corsican soldier, had joined the Republican army shortly after the overthrow of the monarchy He had taken a prominent part in the siege of Toulon, and later in the quelling of a mob attack in Paris In 1796 he was put in command of the French 'Army of Italy'. It was in Italy that his astonishing military genius was first made known to the world Bonaparte first fell on the Sardinians and forced them to make a separate peace (1796) Then, in a series of brilliant campaigns, he beat the Austrians and drove them out of Italy Bonaparte relied

Bonaparte in Italy 1796–7

[1] The Partitions of Poland, by which that unfortunate country was wiped off the map of Europe, are among the worst instances of barefaced wrongdoing in European history Poland was weak and defenceless, she was torn asunder by three strong neighbours It was these very neighbours who were protesting so loudly about the French conquest of Holland and Belgium.

chiefly on the power of sudden attacks, delivered by infantry in column formation, and on the use of light field-guns, which could be moved quickly into action The Austrian generals

EUROPE IN 1798

Note 1 The incorporation of Belgium and Western Germany by France 2. The disappearance of Venice 3 The absorption of Poland by Austria, Russia, and Prussia

Defeat of Austria

were no match for him, either in tactics or in the power of leading men to victory By the beginning of 1797 the Austrians were in full flight across the frontier, Bonaparte chased them into their own country and forced them to sign an armistice

In the year 1797 Britain was faced with a most serious situation. All her continental allies had either been defeated

or had withdrawn from the war, the French were masters of western Europe. The naval situation was scarcely less serious, for the fleets of France, Spain, and Holland were now ranged against Great Britain. Admiral Sir John Jervis, however, with Nelson as second-in-command, broke the Spanish line at the battle of Cape St. Vincent (February 1797) and scattered the enemy. But scarcely had one danger thus been removed, when our whole naval position in the North Sea was threatened by serious mutinies in the fleet. The grievances of the seamen were real enough: they were badly fed, seldom paid, and kept at their duty by a system of brutal punishments for which discipline is too mild a word. In addition, most of the sailors had been forced into the Navy by the press-gang. The first mutiny occurred at Spithead; the Government, recognizing that some concessions were necessary, eventually accepted most of the men's demands, and order was restored. A more serious situation, however, was created by the mutiny of the North Sea fleet, under Admiral Duncan, which was blockading the Dutch coast. The mutineers seized the ships and sailed back to the Thames Estuary, their head-quarters being at the Nore. Duncan, with two ships left, hoodwinked the enemy by sending signals to an imaginary fleet behind. After an anxious month, the men returned to their duties. Parker, the ringleader, and eighteen others were hanged. Duncan continued the blockade of the Dutch coast, and it was not till October that the enemy fleet emerged. An action took place off Camperdown—an overwhelming victory for the British, nine out of sixteen Dutch ships being captured. The sailors, who had so recently been mutineers, had nobly proved their patriotism, and were pardoned by the Government.

Position in 1797 Britain alone

1797 Cape St. Vincent

Mutinies in the Fleet

Camperdown

A week after Camperdown, Austria signed the Treaty of Campo Formio (1797) with the French Republic. By this treaty, Belgium and the Rhine frontier were given to France—such gains as she had not received under the greatest of her kings. At the same time the dependent republics which the French had set up in Holland, Switzerland, and North Italy were recognized by Austria. Britain stood alone (1797) against the victorious Republic, which, only four years before, was thought to be on the verge of destruction.

Treaty of Campo Formio 1797

In one respect, however, Britain had done well out of the war. Her naval superiority had enabled her to attack the oversea possessions not only of France but of the allies of France. The Dutch had suffered heavily in the loss of Ceylon and the Cape of Good Hope (1795) and of Demerara in South America (1796). The Cape was then chiefly important on account of its position on the route to India, but it afterwards proved a valuable colony in itself. Spain lost Trinidad (1797) and what is now British Honduras; the French lost several islands, of which the most important was St. Lucia. But a great deal of money and thousands of lives were consumed in a useless attempt to conquer the French colony of Haiti on Hispaniola, where a negro rebellion broke out. The rebellion was due, in the first instance, to the influence of the French Revolution on the slaves; it spread to several of the other islands, where, however, it was ultimately quelled. But Haiti remained, and remains, a negro republic.

British Colonial Gains

The Cape

Revolution in the West Indies

2. *Britain and the Mediterranean*

At the beginning of 1798 the French troops marched into Rome, whence the Pope, Pius VI, fled; a Roman republic was set up. The French were now in command of all north Italy; Spain was their ally; they controlled the western Mediterranean. It merely remained for them to conquer Naples, and to attack the unwieldy Turkish Empire, and the Mediterranean would become a French lake. An attack on Egypt (nominally a Turkish province) was therefore decided on. Bonaparte, who was given the command, already dreamed of annexing the Turkish Empire, and of advancing, from Egypt, to the conquest of India. 'This little Europe', he declared, 'is too small for me.'

French control of the Mediterranean 1798

Britain wisely decided to challenge the French supremacy in the Mediterranean. But the French Egyptian Expedition, eluding Admiral Nelson, sailed from Toulon to the Nile. On the way the French demanded the surrender of Malta from the Knights of St. John, and left a garrison to occupy the island. Landing in Egypt, Bonaparte beat the Mamelukes[1] at the battle of the Pyramids. While he was celebrating this victory,

Malta

Bonaparte in Egypt

[1] The Mamelukes were a military caste (originally Circassian slaves) which dominated Egypt.

news arrived that his fleet was gone Nelson had destroyed it at the battle of the Nile Sailing into Aboukir Bay (in one of the mouths of the Nile) where the French fleet lay at anchor, Nelson attacked with his terrible gun-fire at close quarters Thirteen ships were taken or sunk; only four escaped (August 1798)

Battle of the Nile August 1798

After this it was evident that Bonaparte would have to abandon the dream of a French Mediterranean, which must obviously depend upon sea-power But he still had his army, with which to invade other parts of the Turkish Empire He marched into Palestine, expecting to meet with little resistance, but was held up by the Turkish defence of Acre (1799) The Turks were assisted in their defence by part of the British fleet, under Sir Sidney Smith, one of Nelson's captains Foiled at Acre, Bonaparte had to return to Egypt By this time, news from Europe decided him to desert his army and return home Sailing secretly with a few companions, he eluded the British fleet, and landed safely in France (1799)

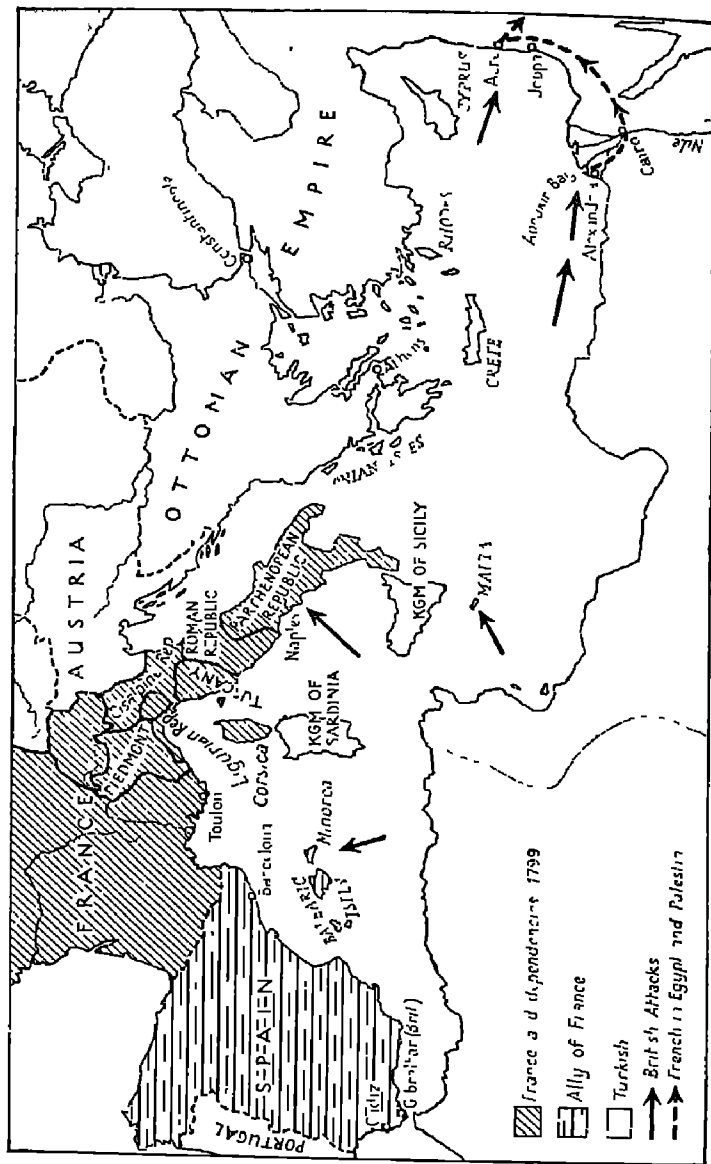
Siege of Acre, 1799

A Second Coalition was now in being, consisting of Britain, Austria, Russia, and Turkey An Austro-Russian army under Suvoroff, invaded northern Italy and swept out the French. Then it forced its way through the Alpine passes into Switzerland, and was successful until September, when Masséna defeated Suvoroff at Zurich In Naples, earlier in the year, the French had set up a republican government, and there was now further fighting between the revolutionaries and the adherents of the King of Naples Finally, the republicans of Naples surrendered to Cardinal Ruffo, on the promise that their lives should be spared Just as this treaty was signed, Admiral Nelson appeared in the Bay of Naples, with the exiled Neapolitan king on board The king—Ferdinand IV—repudiated the treaty, and, with Nelson's help, proceeded to crush the rebels in a series of cruel executions and imprisonments The government of Ferdinand IV was, in all probability, the worst in Europe. It is sad to reflect that it was Nelson who helped to consign hundreds of brave men to the living death of a Neapolitan prison [1]

Second Coalition 1799

Naples

Nelson at Naples

[1] 'The part borne by Nelson in this work of death has left a stain on his glory which time cannot efface The name which to ourselves

THE MEDITERRANEAN, 1798–1800

Meanwhile Bonaparte was received with tremendous enthusiasm in France He decided that the moment had arrived to assume complete control He therefore overthrew the government—the Directory—by force (*Coup d'état*, November 1799) and set up a new government of three consuls, with himself as First Consul From the moment when he became First Consul, Bonaparte was the absolute ruler of France, a position which he held for fifteen years Soon he raised a new army, full of enthusiasm, and ready to follow him to victory He did not disappoint his soldiers, at the battle of Marengo (near Genoa) the Austrians were again defeated Shortly after this, Russia and Austria made peace, Britain once more stood alone (1800 as in 1797)

Coup d'état of 1799

Marengo 1800

The British, however, scored two important successes They took Malta (1800), which has ever since been a British possession, and they sent an army to Egypt (1801) under Sir Ralph Abercrombie which procured the surrender of the French army which Bonaparte had left behind The position, in 1800, was thus fairly even: Britain was completely victorious at sea, and she had taken most of the Dutch and a great many of the French and Spanish islands in all parts of the world In the Mediterranean, the French had been completely foiled; they had been checked at Naples, at Malta, at Acre, and in Egypt [1] On the other hand the Second Coalition was no more, and the French were once more masters of North Italy, nor could any limits be set to their further probable advance on land

British take Malta, 1800

France and Britain in 1800

Interest now shifted from the Mediterranean to the Baltic The Tsar of Russia, Paul I, revived the Armed Neutrality of the North which had been formed during the War of American Independence (1780) to contest the British claim to search neutral shipping. Russia, Sweden, and Denmark were thus ranged in hostility to Britain The British Government dispatched Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, with Nelson as second-in-command, to the Baltic to attack the Danes Nelson

Armed Neutrality of the North, 1801

represents everything that is most gallant, most faithful, most tender, recalls on the Mediterranean coast the abettor of a perfidious cruelty' (Fyffe, *Modern Europe*, ii)

[1] 'Had I been master of the sea', once remarked Napoleon, 'I should have been lord also of the Orient'

First Battle of Copenhagen, 1801

engaged the Danish fleet, and disregarded Parker's signal to withdraw "'Do you know what's shown on board the Commander-in-Chief?" asked Nelson . "Why, to leave off action!" "Leave off action!" he repeated, and then added, with a shrug, "Now damn me if I do!" He then observed to Captain Foley, "You know, Foley, I have only one eye—I have a right to be blind sometimes " And then, with an archness peculiar to his character, putting the glass to his blind eye, he exclaimed "I really do not see the signal!"'[1] The bombardment lasted four hours, after which the Danes surrendered. Meanwhile a court tragedy changed the policy of Russia, the leader of the Armed Neutrality The mad Tsar, Paul I, was murdered (1801), his son and successor, Alexander I, at once came to terms with Britain, and the Armed Neutrality collapsed

Pitt resigns 1801

Shortly after these events, Pitt resigned the premiership for reasons unconnected with the conduct of the war George III had forced him to break his promise to the Irish Catholics,[2] and Pitt did not consider it honourable to remain in office On his resignation (1801) Addington, formerly Speaker, was made Prime Minister, Pitt remained out of office for three years

Addington Government 1801–4

Peace of Amiens 1802

Addington's Government decided to make peace with France The negotiations lasted some months, but, after much haggling, peace was made at Amiens (1802), Britain agreeing to restore some of her colonial conquests. But there could be no lasting peace as long as Bonaparte was at the head of affairs in France. His restless mind was already turning to ambitious schemes in Germany and beyond.

3 *Land-power versus Sea-power*

War renewed 1803

The peace signed at Amiens lasted only a year, for it soon became obvious that Bonaparte was preparing for further conquests Britain, suspicious of his intentions, refused to give up Malta, by March 1803 war was again declared As she prepared for a second and even more terrible struggle, Britain was more united as a nation than ten years previously Those who had formerly held that the French Revolution heralded the

[1] See the story in Southey's *Life of Nelson.*

[2] See next Chapter

A CARTOON OF 1805 BY GILLRAY
Pitt holds the sea for England, while Napoleon helps himself to Europe.

dawn of European liberty, were now convinced that that very liberty was in danger from the ambitions of the First Consul This feeling was expressed in Wordsworth's noble sonnet (1803) on the precious heritage of British freedom

> We must be free or die, who speak the tongue
> That Shakespeare spake, the faith and morals hold
> Which Milton held

Pitt's Second Ministry 1804–6

Napoleon Emperor 1804

The times were too serious to permit of Britain's first statesman living in retirement, early in 1804 Pitt was recalled to office A month later Bonaparte crowned himself emperor as Napoleon I, he also converted the French conquests in Lombardy into the Kingdom of Italy, with himself as king. Having made these arrangements, he turned to the agreeable task of crushing Britain, as a preliminary to further European conquests He saw that France, to achieve European supremacy, must first overcome 'these active islanders', as he called the British Pitt endeavoured to counter his schemes by forming the Third Coalition—Britain, Austria, and Russia (1805)

Third Coalition 1805

The Camp at Boulogne 1804–5

During 1804 and 1805, Napoleon collected a large army at Boulogne for the purpose of invading England He ordered the construction of a fleet of flat-bottomed boats for the transport of the soldiers It merely remained for the French navy to clear the Channel of English ships, and the rest—Napoleon thought—would be comparatively easy A certain amount of panic was created in England by these preparations,[1] especially as the camp at Boulogne could be seen through a telescope There, on the white cliffs of France, were assembled the troops sworn to destroy English liberty, there, no doubt, paced the dreadful figure of 'Boney', the Corsican ogre—the terrible little man whose soldiers always marched to victory The British Navy, however, felt confident of its strength Lord St Vincent (Admiral Jervis) said in the Upper House 'I do not say, my lords, that the French cannot come I only say, they cannot come *by sea*'

In the early months of 1805 the French carried out the preliminaries to the plan for the invasion of England Napoleon

[1] See Thomas Hardy's novel, *The Trumpet Major*, for a description of the south coast of England during these years

ordered the various French and Spanish fleets—at Toulon, Cadiz, Corunna, Rochefort, and Brest—to elude the British blockade and sail for a secret rendezvous—Martinique.[1] The fleets from Toulon, Rochefort, and Cadiz all ran through the British blockade and sailed for the West Indies. Nelson, on guard in the Mediterranean and so far ignorant of their intentions, followed them (May 1805). When he reached Martinique, he guessed that the West Indies was merely a rendezvous, and that the French intended to attack England itself. He therefore sent a fast brig ahead to warn Lord Barham at the Admiralty, while he himself with the rest of the fleet some days later followed the enemy's armada back across the Atlantic. Lord Barham sent Calder to meet Villeneuve, and an indecisive action was fought off Cape Finisterre. Villeneuve, the French admiral, then put in at Corunna and later succeeded in reaching Cadiz, thus raising his fleet from 18 to 33 vessels. Meanwhile Napoleon heard that the Austrians were mobilizing; he therefore broke up his camp at Boulogne, and transferred his 'Army of England' to Germany (August 1805).

The Plan of Invasion

The plan abandoned August 1805

The last three months of 1805 witnessed the two most spectacular victories of the whole war on sea and land respectively—Trafalgar and Austerlitz. While Napoleon was pursuing his victorious way across Germany, he ordered his admiral, Villeneuve, to come out and fight. The result was the battle of Trafalgar[2] (21 October 1805), when Nelson swept on the combined fleets of France and Spain, and vanquished them. Twenty out of the thirty-three enemy battleships were captured or sunk, and Nelson died on board the *Victory*, happy in the knowledge that he was the saviour of his country. In the naval war Trafalgar was decisive; Napoleon was never able to reverse the verdict of that October day, and for the remaining ten years of the war the power of the British Navy was not seriously challenged. At the Guildhall banquet that November

Trafalgar 21 October 1805

Death of Nelson

[1] The French admirals were forbidden to open their sailing orders, telling them their destination, until they were well out to sea.

[2] Trafalgar was the last great victory won with sailing ships—those beautiful vessels which swept the seas from the Age of Drake to the Age of Nelson. Sailing vessels fought the battle of Navarino (1827), but steam ships took part in the American Civil War (1861–5).

the Prime Minister paid tribute to England's dead hero. Referring to the prestige which the fleet had won, he said: 'England has saved herself by her exertions; she will, I trust, save Europe by her example'

But, even as he spoke, the armies of the relentless emperor were hacking their way across Europe. One Austrian army was surrounded at Ulm, and forced to surrender. Napoleon entered Vienna. Then, in December, he met the allied armies of Austria and Russia, and annihilated them at Austerlitz. His great victory—as overwhelming as Nelson's though not so lasting in its effects—forced Austria into a humiliating peace and left Napoleon a free hand in Germany. The news of Austerlitz was brought to London, where a sick and ageing man struggled with a burden too hard for him to bear. Pitt was studying a map of Europe when he heard the fatal news. 'Roll up that map,' he said,[1] adding with prophetic insight, 'it will not be wanted these ten years.' The blow was too much for Pitt's ebbing strength, and he quickly sank to his grave. 'My country, how I leave my country!' were his last words (January 1806).

Austerlitz December 1805

Death of Pitt January 1806

His death opened the way for his great rival to enter the Cabinet, for the times were too serious to permit a half-crazy king to pursue any further his antipathy to Mr Fox. A Coalition Ministry was formed—the Ministry of All the Talents, it was called—in which Fox held the post of Foreign Secretary for the few months left to him of life. It was this ministry which has the eternal credit of passing the Act making the slave trade illegal[2] (1807). Fox died (September 1806) just before the Act was passed, but he helped in its introduction.

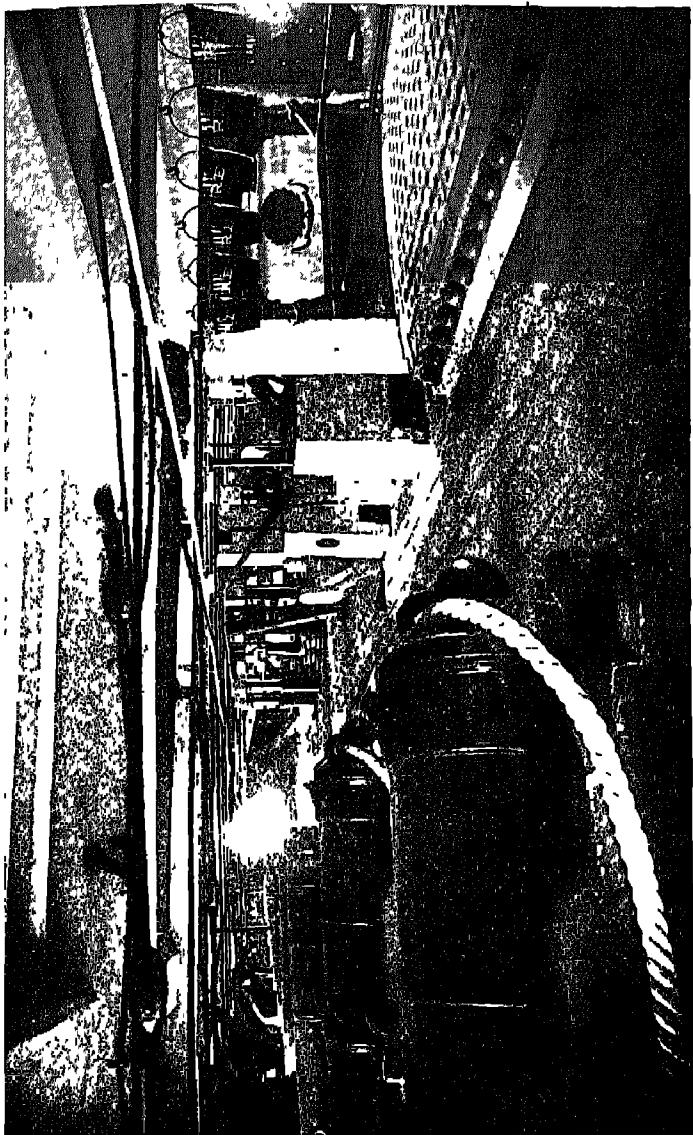
Ministry of All the Talents 1806–7

Death of Fox September 1806

Meanwhile, the wisdom of Pitt's remark about the map of Europe was becoming clear. Napoleon expelled the Bourbon king, Ferdinand, from Naples, and set up his own brother Joseph Bonaparte in his stead. His brother Louis became King of Holland. In Germany, after Austerlitz, Napoleon

Napoleonic changes in Europe

[1] There is some doubt whether Pitt actually made this remark. Austerlitz was not the only blow, another was the news that the Prussians had come to terms with Napoleon and accepted the bribe he offered them—Hanover

[2] See Chapter XXXIX

NELSON'S NAVY

The lower gun-deck of the *Victory* to-day, in Portsmouth dockyard

worked his will French influence was so supreme that all western Germany was formed into the 'Confederation of the Rhine' under French tutelage. In August 1806, Napoleon notified the German Diet that he no longer recognized the existence of the Holy Roman Empire, which had endured for a thousand years The Emperor resigned his ancient title, and assumed that of Emperor of Austria, which his family retained till 1918 Apart from Austria and Prussia, Germany lay at the feet of Napoleon Later in the same year, 1806, Napoleon picked a quarrel with Prussia, and inflicted on her the crushing defeat of Jena He then entered yet another foreign capital—Berlin—and from there issued the Berlin Decree, aimed at Britain.

End of the Holy Roman Empire 1806

Jena, 1806

Berlin Decree 1806

By this Berlin Decree Napoleon declared the British Isles to be in a state of blockade, and forbade all commerce between them and France, or the states allied with France Next year Napoleon made an alliance with the Tsar[1] (Treaty of Tilsit, 1807), who agreed to enforce the 'Continental System'—the name given to Napoleon's plan to ruin British commerce and 'cut off supplies to the stomach' of his enemy 'I have every reason to hope', wrote Napoleon, 'that this measure will deal a deadly blow to England' He *had* some reason for his hope, for he could control the ports of France, Germany, Italy, Spain, and Holland, and he had Russia for an ally The British Government replied by their Orders in Council (1807). A counter-blockade was declared on the ports of France and her allies, and neutrals were forbidden to trade with Napoleon and his allies Thus was all Europe involved in the fight to the death between Britain and Napoleon The British working-class suffered from the high price of bread. But even Napoleon could not manage without British goods, and his own envoy—in spite of the Berlin Decree—smuggled British coats, caps, and shoes for the French army

Treaty of Tilsit, 1807

The Continental System

[1] The Russians had fought a drawn battle with the French at Eylau, and then were defeated at Friedland Alexander was by this time disgusted by the collapse of the Coalition, and admired the astonishing feats of Napoleon Like all the Romanovs, Alexander was somewhat unbalanced so now he determined to change right round, and make friends with Napoleon

Early in 1807 the Coalition ministry in Britain fell, the Tories came in and stayed in for twenty-three years (1807–30). First came a short but important ministry under the Duke of Portland (1807–9) This ministry included those two remarkable men—and inveterate enemies—George Canning and Lord Castlereagh.[1] Canning, as Foreign Secretary, received secret information that Napoleon and the Tsar were planning attacks on neutral countries, such as Denmark and Portugal. In particular he learned that Napoleon intended to seize the Danish fleet Acting with great promptitude, Canning sent Admiral Gambier to the Sound to demand the immediate surrender of the Danish fleet. The Danes naturally refused so outrageous a request, but Gambier bombarded Copenhagen—that unfortunate city—till they gave way He returned home with the Danish fleet as a prize. Continental countries were rightly indignant at this incident, which the British Government defended on the plea that they had merely forestalled the French

Second Battle of Copenhagen, 1807

That all Europe must be involved in the struggle between the two great antagonists—the land-monster and the sea-monster—was soon made plain In the same year that Britain seized the Danish fleet, Napoleon struck at Portugal, on the ground that the Portuguese were trading with Britain General Junot's army overran Portugal, it arrived at Lisbon just too late to capture the King of Portugal and his family, who sailed away to Brazil on board a British ship which Canning had sent to the Tagus (1807)

French invade Portugal 1807

Napoleon now controlled Europe from Lisbon to Moscow. His enemies, on the other hand, controlled the seas. In the Mediterranean the British held Gibraltar and Malta, and maintained the exiled kings of Sardinia and Sicily[2] on the island parts of their dominions In the outer world, the French, Dutch, and Spanish islands had again been seized since the breach of the Peace of Amiens; Cape Colony was permanently occupied (1806). It remained to be seen whether Napoleon could destroy Britain

[1] Canning was Foreign Secretary; Castlereagh Secretary-at-War.

[2] The King of Sardinia had lost Piedmont, and the King of the Two Sicilies had lost Naples, both of which were in the hands of the French.

through his Continental System or whether that very system—with its war on sugar and cotton, tea and coffee—would raise up enemies against him

4 *The Overthrow of Napoleon*

The downfall of Napoleon was brought about by the Peninsular War and the rising of the nations in other parts of Europe It will be convenient to follow the war in Spain to its conclusion, before dealing briefly with events elsewhere

In 1808 Napoleon decided to overthrow the Bourbon monarchy of Spain By a particularly mean trick—even for him—he lured the Spanish royal family into his power, and forced the king, Charles IV, to abdicate in favour of his son Ferdinand He then insisted on Ferdinand's abdication, and gave the crown to his own brother, Joseph Bonaparte The result of these manœuvres was not at all what he expected For fifteen years the French had been invading the territories of their neighbours, and overthrowing, with comparative ease, the governments opposed to them In dealing with countries like Germany and Italy, which were divided up into small states under corrupt governments, there had been little difficulty But Spain was a nation, not a collection of small states Its government, it is true, was as bad as any in Europe, but the Spaniards were a proud people, ready to defend their independence Moreover, there was virtually no sympathy, such as there was in other countries which French armies entered, for French liberal doctrines For the first time in the war, the French encountered a truly national resistance It was found necessary to garrison every Spanish town of any size, in order to keep the government of King Joseph in being

Napoleon attacks Spain, 1808

The Spanish National Rising

It was at this point that the British Government made an important decision So far our effort in the war had been almost entirely naval and colonial, now it was decided to embark on a military effort on a much larger scale Canning and Castlereagh, who agreed in little else, agreed to this A Spanish alliance was welcomed by English manufacturers, eager to sell their steel and cotton goods to the Spanish colonies in America From the military point of view, the alliance proved to be decisive English persistence kept alive the

The Peninsular War 1809–13

Spanish revolt, and it was the 'Spanish ulcer', as Napoleon confessed, which ruined him

An army of 30,000 men was sent to Portugal under a young general called Sir Arthur Wellesley, who had already distinguished himself in India [1] Wellesley won the battle of Vimiero, and was then superseded by superior officers arriving from England Left to himself, Wellesley would probably have brought about the surrender of Junot's army, as it was, the French, by the Convention of Cintra (1808), were allowed to evacuate Portugal without further loss Napoleon himself now came to Spain, he had an army of 250,000 to hold down the country Sir John Moore, the new British commander, advanced into Spain, and so drew off a large proportion of the French army, and certainly saved Lisbon. Napoleon sent Marshal Soult to chase the English to the north of Spain. Moore was killed at Corunna—they 'buried him darkly at dead of night'—but his army safely embarked on a British fleet at that port (1809) Later in the year, Napoleon was obliged to return to Germany to fight the Austrians He never recrossed the Pyrenees Spain he left to his marshals

Vimiero 1808

The Retreat to Corunna 1809

Sir Arthur Wellesley was once again given the command in Portugal In the campaign of 1809, he advanced into Spain and won the battle of Talavera, but was again forced to retreat to Lisbon Marshal Masséna now took the offensive with the object of driving the 'English leopard' into the sea But Wellington's[2] tactics in 1810 foiled him The English commander constructed lines of trenches across the peninsula on which Lisbon stands These lines, known as the lines of Torres Vedras, were so well fortified that Masséna found it impossible to attack them Besides this, Wellington had devastated the country around, so that Masséna soon found his army starving Wellington, on the other hand, was in an impregnable position behind the lines, with Lisbon as a base, and Lisbon was supplied from the sea Masséna was forced to retreat with heavy losses (1811), and the French did not enter Portugal again.

Wellesley in Portugal

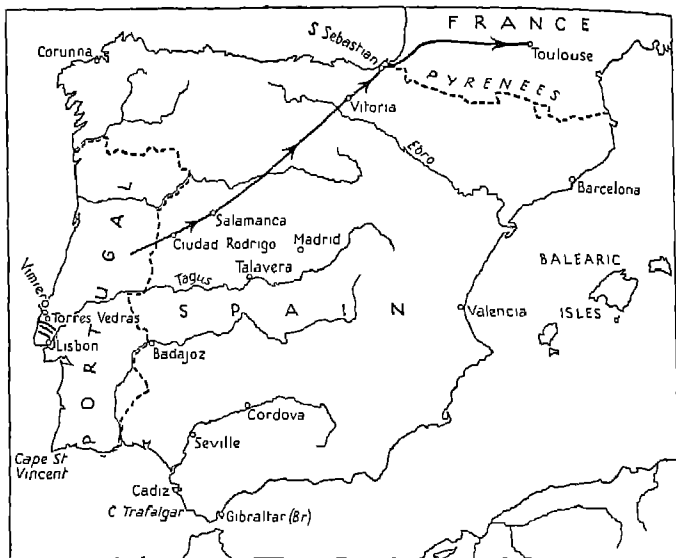
Torres Vedras 1810–11

These tactics wore down the French, who were further

[1] See Chapter XXXIV

[2] Wellesley was made a peer in 1809, taking the title of Lord Wellington He was made a duke in 1814

Difficulties of the French

hampered by their long lines of communication—500 miles from Portugal to the Pyrenees. The Spaniards waged a guerilla warfare all the time, attacking French columns on the march and then retiring to their mountains Napoleon, during the Peninsular War, had to wage two other major campaigns, one

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL THE PENINSULAR WAR

against Austria (1809) and one against Russia (1812) This made it difficult for him to relieve his harassed troops in the Peninsula. Above all, the supremacy of the British at sea secured our connexion with Lisbon, on which the whole of Wellington's schemes depended

The Advance into Spain 1812

In 1812—the year of Napoleon's fatal expedition to Moscow—Wellington felt strong enough to advance into Spain He began by storming the two fortresses of Badajoz and Ciudad Rodrigo, which commanded the two main roads from Portugal into Spain Then he advanced as far as Salamanca, where he won a brilliant victory, and entered Madrid, whence Joseph Bonaparte fled In spite of these successes, the British commander

thought it well to retire once more to Portugal for the winter. But in 1813 he reaped his reward. Starting from Portugal in May, he crossed the Pyrenees within forty days, driving the French before him. The last considerable action in Spain was fought at Vitoria, where King Joseph lost all his artillery and stores; Wellington's campaign of 1814 began in the south of France. But by that time Napoleon was fighting with his back to the wall.

Vitoria 1813

We must now turn to glance at the rest of Europe during the time of the Peninsular War. In 1809 the British government sent an expedition under Lord Chatham (Pitt's brother) to the island of Walcheren, for the purpose of attacking Antwerp. The expedition was a dismal failure, and brought about the fall of the Government. Canning quarrelled with Castlereagh over Walcheren, and the two ministers fought a duel; both resigned from the Cabinet. A new ministry was formed under Spencer Perceval (1809–12), who was assassinated three years later by a lunatic in the precincts of the House of Commons.

Walcheren Expedition 1809

Perceval Ministry 1809–12

Napoleon, meanwhile, had considerable difficulties with his enormous empire, the populations of which were feeling keenly the loss of British trade. He had to depose his brother Louis, King of Holland, because he refused to put the Continental System into force (1810). In order to control the continental ports, Napoleon now annexed to France not only Holland, but the whole German coast up to the Elbe.[1] Soon after this the Tsar followed King Louis' example, and broke with Napoleon. The French Emperor therefore embarked on his great Russian campaign (1812), which ended in one of the most appalling disasters in military history. The Russians set fire to Moscow, and Napoleon had to retreat across the frozen plains back to Germany; he lost more than five-sixths of his army of 600,000 men.

Retreat from Moscow 1812

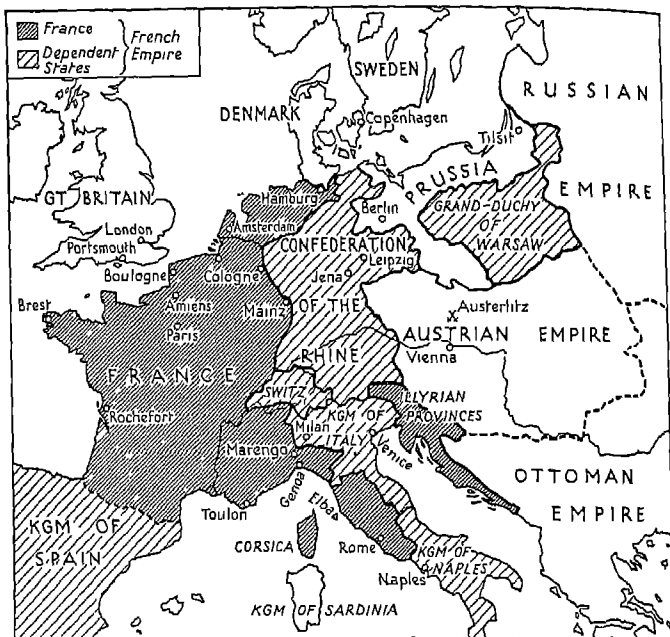
In 1812 Lord Liverpool became Prime Minister in England, and Lord Castlereagh Foreign Secretary (1812–22) and leader of the House of Commons.[2] Castlereagh was the most

Liverpool Ministry 1812–27

[1] He even annexed a narrow strip in the south of Denmark, which brought French territory to the Baltic.

[2] Lord Castlereagh was not a member of the British peerage; his *Irish* peerage did not entitle him to sit in the House of Lords.

important figure in British politics for the next ten years. He arranged the Fourth Coalition (1813)—Britain, Russia, and Prussia, and later Austria—which was destined to bring Napoleon to his knees. The revival of Prussia was followed by

Castlereagh
Fourth Coalition
1813

EUROPE UNDER NAPOLEON, 1811

a real national awakening in Germany, and the year 1813 witnessed the War of Liberation in that country. All the German states threw off their allegiance to Napoleon, who had now to fight for his empire. He won another battle at Dresden, but at Leipzig—the 'Battle of the Nations'—he was decisively defeated (1813). Even then Napoleon might have secured fair terms—he was offered the Rhine frontier. But he obstinately refused.

Leipzig
1813

Allies invade France

By 1814, as we have seen, Wellington was over the Pyrenees; he defeated the French at Toulouse. At the same time the

allies[1]—Russians, Germans, and Austrians—advanced into France, and the French, for the first time for twenty years, had to defend their own country Napoleon fell back towards Paris, but the weight of numbers was too strong for him Finally he signed his abdication at Fontainebleau (1814) He was taken to the island of Elba, and the victorious allies set about the difficult business of settling the frontiers of Europe

Napoleon at Elba 1814

The defeat of Napoleon was due, in the first place, to the fact that he could never secure command of the sea, and so could never defeat Britain In the second place, it was due to the failure of his Continental System to achieve its designed end introduced in order to cripple Britain, it ended by turning Napoleon's allies into enemies and arousing everywhere the spirit of national resistance First Spain, then Holland, then Russia, then Germany—all these countries had revolted against the Napoleonic system The help given at the critical moment by England to Spain, where the first national rising occurred, was the turning-point The result was secured by the persistence of the British effort and the revival of our allies.

Reasons for Napoleon's Fall

5 *Waterloo and Vienna*

The Congress of Vienna, which met to make a general settlement of Europe after the war, began its labours in 1814 Prussia, backed by Russia, fell into controversy with Austria, backed by Britain[2]—and more than once it seemed that war might break out between the former allies over Polish and Saxon territory

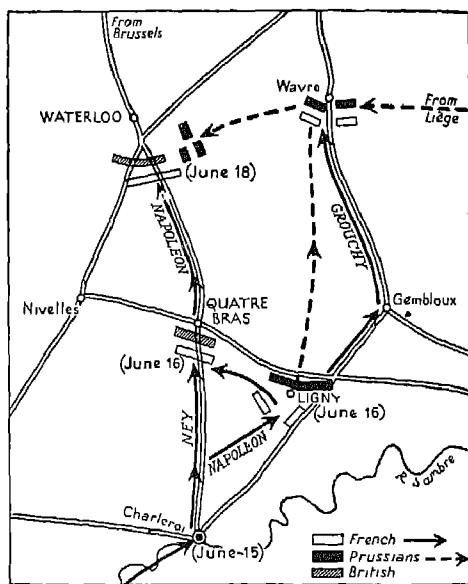
The Congress of Vienna 1814–15

The Bourbon monarchy was restored in France, with Louis

[1] It was now that the allies—Austria, Russia, Prussia, and Great Britain—signed the Treaty of Chaumont (March 1814) agreeing to unite their forces for the overthrow of Napoleon and to make an alliance for twenty years to guarantee the peace of Europe This treaty led to the Quadruple Alliance and to the Congress system after 1815 (See Chap XXXVI)

[2] After the downfall of Napoleon and the restoration of the Bourbons, the French government claimed a share in the deliberations at Vienna Talleyrand, the astute French diplomat, held the balance between the contending Powers In January 1815, France, Austria, and Britain even went so far as to sign a defensive alliance against Prussia and Russia!

XVIII, a brother of Louis XVI, as king. But while the diplomats quarrelled at Vienna, and while the French people tried the doubtful experiment of a Bourbon restoration, Napoleon intervened He escaped from Elba and landed in France The soldiers sent to arrest him joined him instead and Louis XVIII

Napoleon escapes February 1815

THE WATERLOO CAMPAIGN

fled from Paris. A few days later the Emperor was back in the Tuileries.

The Hundred Days (March–June)

Napoleon's restoration—his Hundred Days—was an anxious time for the allies, the nightmare of Napoleonic conquest once more loomed over Europe The war against France was renewed, Britain declined to make peace as long as Napoleon remained on the throne The command of the main allied army, chiefly British and German, was given to the Duke of Wellington

The Waterloo Campaign

This army assembled in Belgium; Brussels was the Duke's head-quarters In June 1815 Napoleon suddenly brought his forces up to Charleroi, on the Sambre, about 35 miles south of

Brussels On 16 June the emperor divided his army into two parts, sending Ney to attack the British at Quatre-Bras, on the Brussels–Charleroi road, while he himself led the attack on the Prussians at Ligny (see map). The battle of Ligny was Napoleon's last victory, he drove the Prussians back, and imagined that they were knocked out of the campaign On 17 June, Napoleon joined Ney on the Brussels road The next morning he began the attack on Wellington, who awaited him in front of the village of Waterloo The allied army numbered 67,000, of whom 24,000 were British, the French had 72,000 The battle, which lasted all day, began by an attack on the British positions at farms called Hougomont and La Haye Sainte The latter position was taken by the late afternoon, but by that time the Prussians were coming on to the field Blucher, the Prussian commander, had retired northwards after the battle of Ligny The night of 17 June he lay at Wavre, 13 miles east of Waterloo He sent a message promising to come to Wellington's aid, and he fulfilled his promise Wellington was hard pressed when the Prussians came up, but the arrival of fresh troops turned the scale About 7 o'clock Napoleon sent forward the Imperial Guard, then he launched his last cavalry reserve When he knew that Napoleon had put forth his final effort, Wellington ordered the whole British line to advance The French were routed, the battle was over 'It has been a damned nice thing,' remarked the Duke afterwards, 'the nearest thing you ever saw in your life' Much credit was due to Wellington and to his staff—who suffered heavily Wellington himself was always on the spot at the critical moment, directing the course of action, regardless of personal danger

Quatre-Bras and Ligny 16 June

Waterloo 18 June 1815

After Waterloo Napoleon abdicated a second time, and surrendered to the British He was taken to the little isolated island of St Helena in the Atlantic, where he died six years later Napoleon's unquenchable passion for war and restless personal ambition both inflicted untold harm and suffering on millions of innocent people over a long period of years His career, nevertheless, was not entirely mischievous his civil reforms in France itself were permanent and all to the good, while his conquests of Italy and Germany swept away some of

St Helena

the ancient petty governments in those countries and prepared the way for their great advance in the nineteenth century

The prestige of Britain had never stood higher than in the year of Waterloo The long duration of the British effort in the war, far surpassing that of her allies, the fame of her great general, the invincibility of her Navy—all combined to enhance the majesty of Britain in the eyes of Europe The British army, thanks to Wellington's command, had renewed the great traditions of the Marlburian era Wellington, who was a realist, described his men as 'the scum of the earth, enlisted for drink'; but the iron discipline of the Army—of which the military floggings were a degrading feature—moulded this unpromising material into fine soldiers The British soldiers who pushed Napoleon's veterans across the Pyrenees were undoubtedly men of a hard and brutal type But they were not permitted to live entirely on plunder, like the French, nor were they so brutal as the Prussian army of occupation in France, whose behaviour disgusted Wellington.

The British Army

Castlereagh at Vienna

The services of Castlereagh and Wellington, Britain's representatives at the Congress of Vienna, were invaluable It was due to them that the allies, particularly Prussia, were prevented from taking revenge on France for the misdeeds of Napoleon Wellington scorned revenge, and Britain has seldom been represented abroad by a greater statesman than Lord Castlereagh, though his merits were not recognized by the mass of his countrymen Castlereagh prevented the possibility of a war of revenge by France, he saw that the defeated nation was fairly treated France was reduced to the limits of her 1791 frontiers and had to pay an indemnity, she lost no territory that had been held by the Bourbons Britain restored most of the French colonies

Treatment of France

In other respects the Congress was not so happy in its decisions. Poland was not freed, but re-divided among her preying neighbours The rulers of the petty Italian states, whom the French Revolution had overthrown, were restored to misgovern their dominions, it took two more revolutions (1848 and 1860) to get rid of them. The Bourbon family was restored on the thrones of France, Spain, and Naples; Louis XVIII granted a charter to his people, but the other restora-

tions meant civil war, followed by a long period of misrule Another defect of the Vienna Settlement was the arbitrary method by which certain territories were handed over to foreign rulers, no regard being paid to the wishes of the inhabitants, or to the principle of nationality The most glaring instances of this fault were the re-partition of Poland, already mentioned, the handing over of the Italians of Lombardy and Venetia to Austria, and the joining together of Holland and Belgium under the Dutch king The main result which emerged from the Treaty of Vienna was that the three victorious land-powers, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, become masters of the Continent

British Gains in 1815

Of the many conquests which Britain had made all over the world from France and her allies—Spain, Holland, and Denmark—a great part was restored The French and Spanish West Indian isles—St Lucia, Tobago, and Trinidad—were retained So was Malta, and also Mauritius (in the Indian Ocean) But Java and Sumatra, Holland's valuable East Indian isles, were restored, though a few years later the Dutch agreed to give up Malacca[1] to Britain, in exchange for a British station in Sumatra The Danes surrendered the rock of Heligoland in the North Sea, and a British protectorate was established over the Ionian Islands in the eastern Mediterranean We paid the Dutch three million pounds to keep British Guiana, and six million pounds to keep the Cape of Good Hope, we also kept Ceylon Most of these places—Malta, the Cape, Mauritius, Ceylon, Singapore—were valued as being useful ports of call for the Navy and merchant-ships rather than as possible colonies Hanover was of course restored to the British king, but this remained a purely personal union.

Summary of the Vienna Settlement, 1815

A Settlement of Europe.

1 *Germany* All Germany, under the leadership of Austria, was formed into the German Confederation (now thirty-nine states instead of over three hundred and fifty before Napoleon), which

[1] Singapore, which commands the Straits of Malacca, was bought by Sir Stamford Raffles in 1819 for the East India Company from the Rajah of Johore.

lasted till 1866 *Austria* received the Italian province of Lombardy (which she had held before the war) and, in addition, the whole territory of the ancient Italian republic of Venice—a short-sighted arrangement *Prussia* received a large part of Saxony (which had always fought for Napoleon) and another large province in western Germany, known as the Rhine Province and Westphalia

2 *Italy* All the old states were restored, except the republics of Venice (to Austria) and Genoa (to Sardinia)

3 North Europe *Russia* received most of Poland, also Finland from Sweden *Sweden* was compensated with Norway (formerly Danish)—Norway and Sweden remained united till 1905

4 Holland and Belgium were joined together as the *Kingdom of the Netherlands*, under a Dutch ruler This union lasted till the Belgians revolted in 1830

5 The *Turkish Empire* was not dealt with, but Russia had gained Bessarabia shortly before 1815

B British Gains in 1815

1. In Europe Heligoland (from Denmark), Malta, and the Ionian Isles (Greece) Hanover restored

2 In America St Lucia, Tobago, Trinidad, British Honduras, and British Guiana [1]

3 In Africa and the Indian Ocean Cape Colony, Mauritius, and (in 1824 but arising out of this Treaty) Malacca. Ceylon had been ceded to Britain by the Dutch in 1802 (Treaty of Amiens)

[1] Surinam (Dutch Guiana) was restored to Holland

II. EUROPE IN 1815

DATE SUMMARY THE GREAT FRENCH WAR (1793–1815)

THE CONVENTION AND THE DIRECTORY (1793–9)

SEA	BRITISH MILITARY EFFORTS	FRANCE AND EUROPE
1793 Siege of Toulon	1793 British expedition to Netherlands	1793–5 Conquest of Belgium and Holland
1794 ⚔ 1st of June		1795 Treaty of Basle (Prussia) Spain makes peace Directory in France
1795 Landing at Cape Town		
1796–7 Ceylon and Dutch East Indies		1796–7 Napoleon's Italian Campaign Conquest of N Italy
1797 (Feb) ⚔ Cape St Vincent Trinidad captured		1797 Treaty of Campo Formio
1798 ⚔ Nile	1798–1905 Wellesley in India	1799 Second Coalition
1799 Siege of Acre Nelson at Naples		1799 Napoleon's *Coup d'état*

NAPOLEON FIRST CONSUL (1799–1804)

SEA	BRITISH MILITARY EFFORTS	FRANCE AND EUROPE
1800 British take Malta		1800 ⚔ Marengo
1801 Armed Neutrality of the North First ⚔ Copenhagen		
		1802 Treaty of Amiens
		1803 War renewed
		1804 Napoleon Emperor

NAPOLEON EMPEROR (1804–15)

SEA	BRITISH MILITARY EFFORTS	FRANCE AND EUROPE
1804–5 Invasion of England scheme		1805 Third Coalition ⚔ Austerlitz Napoleon master of Italy and Germany
1805 ⚔ Trafalgar		
		1806 ⚔ Jena Napoleon in Berlin
1807 Second ⚔ Copenhagen British fleet in the Tagus		1807 Treaty of Tilsit French invade Portugal
	1808 Wellesley in Portugal ⚔ Vimiero	1808 Joseph Bonaparte, King of Spain
	1809 Walcheren Expedition	1809 ⚔ Wagram
	1810–11 Torres Vedras	
1812–14 American War	1812 ⚔ Salamanca	1812 Retreat from Moscow
	1813 ⚔ Vitoria	1813 Fourth Coalition ⚔ Leipzig
	1814 ⚔ Toulouse	1814 Treaty of Chaumont Allies invade France Napoleon abdicates
	1815 (June) ⚔ Waterloo	1815 (Feb) Napoleon escapes from Elba (Mar–June) Hundred Days
		1815 Treaty of Vienna

FRENCH GOVERNMENTS

The Convention	1792–5
The Directory	1795–9
The Consulate	1799–1804
The Empire	1804–14 and 1815

COALITIONS (*v* FRANCE)

First Coalition	1793–5
Second ,,	1799–1800
Third ,,	1805
Fourth ,,	1813–15

XXXIII

IRELAND (1775–1800)

1. *Grattan*

For eighty years after the broken Treaty of Limerick,[1] there is little to record in the history of Ireland. The country was quiet, but it was the quietness of death In an earlier chapter it was shown how England crushed Ireland, first by military conquest, and then by a systematic persecution. Penal laws were enacted against the Roman Catholics, and a fierce commercial code ruined Irish industries, lest they should compete with those of Britain Hundreds of Irishmen, despairing of their own unhappy country, emigrated abroad The King of France had a special brigade, called the Irish Brigade, formed entirely of exiled Irishmen These men revenged themselves on England by fighting against her on the Continent, during the various wars of the eighteenth century

Ireland in the eighteenth century

Irish Emigration

Some improvement in the position of the Catholics—the vast majority of the people—took place towards the middle of the century, the more absurd of the laws restricting their freedom were allowed to fall into disuse There were still, however, many circumstances which made Ireland a discontented land, and certainly the worst-governed part of the dominions of the British Crown

The conquest of Ireland under Cromwell and William III had led to a re-settlement of the smaller island by an intolerant, Protestant England One result of this had been that the native Catholic landlords had been dispossessed of their lands, which had then been given to men of an alien race —Englishmen or Scots To imagine Ireland in the eighteenth century, we must picture a nation ruled by foreigners—English officials at Dublin Castle, and men of English descent as the squires of every village It was to these Protestant, Anglo-Irish families that all political power was confined No Catholic was allowed to vote, still less to sit in Parliament, or

The Protestant Oligarchy

[1] See above, Chapter XXV

to take part in local government The Irish Parliament, which sat at Dublin, was allowed to pass only such laws as the English Government approved Such was the state of Catholic Ireland The Protestant North was scarcely better off, for Ulster was Presbyterian Here again, English religious bigotry did its evil work, the Ulster Presbyterians were prevented by the Test Act from taking any part in the government Thus the vast majority of the people of Ireland, both in Ulster and in the Catholic South, was excluded from all political power, which was jealously confined to the nominees of Dublin Castle The Irish Parliament was, if possible, more corrupt than that of England, the rotten borough system ensured that the nominated members should continue to serve the interests of the English ascendancy [1]

Religious bigotry

The Irish Parliament

Was it possible that such a country as Ireland should rise from the ashes of its degradation? The history of Ireland during the last quarter of the eighteenth century supplied the answer to this question For then the oppressed nation made a great and almost successful effort to break its bonds, then it found a leader, then the age-long strife with England came near to a peaceful settlement But then this fateful quarter-century (1775–1800), which began with such promise of better things, ended in the old unhappy way—in civil war, and in unsuccessful rebellion

Fateful years 1775–1800

It was among the Protestants that Ireland first found a leader The Irish Protestant Parliament, dependent as it was on England, chafed under its servitude Among its members were many who resented the fact that Ireland was bound to a foreign master, and who wished to loosen the bonds Henry Grattan, the leader of the national revival, was a moderate-minded, earnest Irish patriot, who desired the freedom of all his countrymen, the Catholics no less than his fellow Protestants As statesman and orator, Grattan is only to be compared, among eighteenth-century leaders, with the elder Pitt Had a bolder and more far-seeing man than Pitt's son been in charge of affairs at Westminster in Grattan's day, the Irish problem might have been solved before 1790

Henry Grattan

[1] The Irish Parliament was generally more anti-Catholic than the English Parliament, because it feared the Catholics more

'England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity' is a saying the truth of which has often been shown in history. The two main crises through which England passed in this quarter-century—the American Revolution and the War of the French Revolution—both had important reactions on Ireland. The outbreak of the American War caused Ireland to be denuded of English troops, and, when in 1778 France declared war upon Great Britain, there was a very serious danger that Ireland would be conquered by the French, and afterwards used as a base for attacking England.

The American War

After all the oppression which Ireland had endured at English hands, it seems strange that a French attack was not welcomed by the Irish during the American War. That it was not was largely due to the efforts of Grattan, who encouraged the formation of Irish volunteer regiments to defend the country in case of invasion. The formation of the Volunteers caused no little alarm in England, but they served their purpose; there was no French invasion. At the same time, the enthusiasm with which Catholic and Protestant alike rushed to the colours proved that Irish national feeling was not dead. Grattan used the occasion to extort concessions from England, which Lord North's Government dared not refuse, in the face of the armed Volunteers.[1] So in 1780 the obnoxious commercial code was swept away. This was the first step. Then (1782) Lord Rockingham's short-lived Government repealed Poyning's Act, which had for three long centuries bound the Irish Parliament to the dictates of the English Privy Council. The Dublin Parliament was made free of the control of Westminster, and started on its brief career (1782–1800) as an independent body.

The Irish Volunteers

Repeal of the Commercial Laws, 1780, and of Poyning's Act, 1782

There were still two reforms for which there was a crying need. These were a Reform Bill for Ireland (no less necessary for England!) to abolish government by bribery and rotten boroughs, and Roman Catholic Emancipation, i.e. the abolition of all the laws by which the Catholic majority was excluded from political power. It was these reforms which the moderate

A lost opportunity 1783–93

[1] The success of the American rebels, who had fewer grievances than the Irish, had made the British Government less confident, and more willing to compromise.

element in Ireland, led by the Protestant Grattan, ardently desired. For a whole decade (1783–93) Grattan led Ireland, while Pitt ruled England. The Irish reformers could not agree among themselves, and Pitt did nothing. Perhaps in his heart Pitt saw the force of Grattan's arguments, but he could not carry his English Tory adherents with him. So he let the sleeping dogs lie—with disastrous results.

2. *The Rebellion and the Union*

The effects of the French Revolution were soon felt in Ireland. There was a widespread movement in favour of the French ideals, and soon a party was formed which demanded far more than Grattan had ever contemplated. The United Irishmen, a society formed in 1792, was anti-English and republican in aim. Its leaders, Wolfe Tone and Lord Edward Fitzgerald, sought to unite the Catholics of the South with the Presbyterians of the North against the rule of England.

The United Irishmen 1792

Pitt made one concession to Irish feeling by granting the vote to Catholics (1793). Then, in 1795, he sent over Lord Fitzwilliam, a Whig who had joined his government at the time of the Burke–Fox split.[1] Fitzwilliam was a man of liberal views; he entirely sympathized with the idea of complete Catholic emancipation, and he led the Irish to suppose that such was the view of the British Government. If he thought that Pitt would support him, he was deceived; after a few months he was recalled to England. His recall had a most unfortunate effect in Ireland; it was taken for granted that the limit of British concessions had now been reached. The wilder spirits therefore moved towards open rebellion.

Lord Fitzwilliam 1795

The United Irishmen now began to correspond with the French republicans, who promised to come to their aid. A French general, Hoche, appeared with a fleet in Bantry Bay, with 15,000 soldiers on board. A storm dispersed the ships, and Hoche failed to land; had he done so, Britain might have found her supremacy in Ireland endangered.

Hoche's Expedition 1796

Meanwhile, Wolfe Tone's effort to include the Protestants in his organization broke down owing to his alliance with the Catholic 'Defender' movement. The 'United' Irishmen

[1] See above, p. 696.

became a misnomer; that society was now almost entirely composed of Roman Catholics, and hatred of the English was stirred up by the priests. In Ulster, Orange Lodges were formed to combat the danger from Catholics; Protestants all over the country rallied to the Government to save the country from a French invasion. A horrible civil war broke out wherever Orangemen and Catholics came in contact. The Government employed Protestant yeomanry to put down the United Irishmen; the yeomanry hunted down suspected Catholics in a manner reminiscent of the worst days of Cromwell or Elizabeth. Once again ugly passions were aroused in the name of religion; murders and other outrages were committed by both sides.

The Orange Lodges

The Protestant Yeomanry

The excesses of which the Protestant yeomanry were guilty provoked the rebellion of '98. The rising was ill planned and soon suppressed. General Lake defeated the main rebel force at Vinegar Hill, County Wexford. Other local efforts, led in many cases by priests, were put down, all with great cruelty. The French sent a small force (1,000 men) under General Humbert which landed in Killala Bay, routed some of Lake's troops at Castlebar, but was finally outnumbered and forced to surrender. Another French expedition was destroyed at sea. On board one of the captured ships was Wolfe Tone, the Irish leader. He was tried for treason, and sentenced to death, but committed suicide in prison. The heroic Lord Edward Fitzgerald had already been captured fighting, and had died of his wounds.

The Irish Rebellion 1798

Its suppression

When the last Catholic rising had been stamped out, and the last Frenchman captured, Ireland once more lay at the feet of her conqueror. Lord Cornwallis, who had just come over as Viceroy, deplored the intolerant tone he found among the English officials at Dublin Castle, and among his own officers. Pitt, at last giving some attention to Irish affairs, now decided to bring about a union of the Parliaments, such as had already taken place between England and Scotland. Lord Castlereagh, who was Secretary to the Viceroy, was entrusted with the task of putting the Bill of Union through the Irish Parliament. Two methods were employed to induce the Irish Parliament to vote for its own abolition. One was the usual method—bribery.

The Act of Union 1800

Money was poured out to members of the Dublin Parliament, lavish promises of peerages were made. Pitt's second method[1] was to hold out the promise of Catholic Emancipation to Ireland, Catholics were to be allowed to sit in Parliament, and the remaining laws against them repealed It was this promise—which deceived the Catholics into thinking they were going to receive their freedom—which Pitt found himself unable to carry out

The Bill of Union (1800) was introduced by Lord Castlereagh into the Irish Parliament, and carried in spite of Grattan's opposition In one of his noblest speeches the Irish patriot spoke against the measure, and prophesied that the day would come when Ireland would regain her liberty

'Liberty may repair her golden beams, and with redoubled heart animate the country I do not give up the country I see her in a swoon, but she is not dead, though in her tomb she lies helpless and motionless, still there is on her lips a spirit of life, and on her cheeks a glow of beauty

> Thou art not conquered, beauty's ensign yet
> Is crimson in thy lips and in thy cheeks,
> And death's pale flag is not advancéd there '[2]

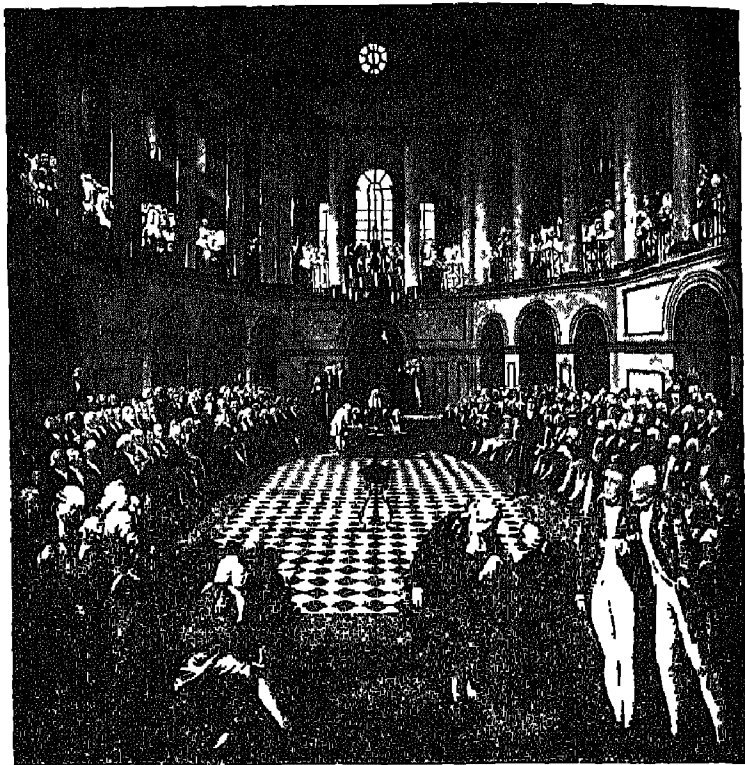
The Bill was passed, and the Dublin Parliament came to an end (1 January 1801) Ireland was for the future to be represented by 100 members in the House of Commons at Westminster, and by 28 peers and 4 bishops in the British House of Lords And there was at last to be free trade between the two islands

The Union might have been made to work had the promise of Catholic Emancipation been carried out, as the promise was broken, there was no chance of the Union working successfully Pitt had intended to carry out his promise But, when he found that George III considered that to give the Irish Catholics their political freedom would be to violate his coronation oath, the

Pitt's broken promise

[1] This method had no influence on the Irish Parliament, which was more against Catholic Emancipation than the English Parliament But it had much influence upon educated Catholic opinion, most of which had never been in favour of Wolfe Tone's activities

[2] The quotation is from *Romeo and Juliet*

Premier gave way Pitt salved his conscience by resigning (1801) In Ireland a distracted people looked forward to the nineteenth century, which was destined, like most of its predecessors, to bring the country fresh difficulties, and hopes doomed to disappointment

THE GREAT PARLIAMENT OF IRELAND, ELECTED 1790

XXXIV

THE EMPIRE UNDER GEORGE III

I *India*

(1) *Warren Hastings*

After Clive's career in India,[1] the whole problem of Anglo-Indian relations entered on a new stage Before Clive's conquest of Bengal, the East India Company had been concerned merely with matters of trade, now, for better or worse, the servants of the Company had taken over political power No one, even then, could foresee that the whole of India was destined to pass under British control But it was already obvious that British responsibilities were too great to be left to the Company alone. Lord North's Government therefore passed the Regulating Act (1773) By this Act the Governor of Bengal was made Governor-General of all the Company's possessions in India He was to rule with the aid of a Council of Four, whose vote could restrain his actions. He was also bound to submit his political decisions to the approval not only of the Company, but of the British Government

North's Regulating Act, 1773

It was under this Act that Warren Hastings, who had already been, for two years, Governor of Bengal, was appointed Governor-General of India The first in the long line of Governor-Generals, Warren Hastings stands not unworthily at the head of those men whom Britain has sent to govern the East—men who have seldom failed to play a great part on that magnificent stage. Hastings' qualities—resourcefulness, a high courage, and a capacity for hard work—were just those that were needed For the eleven years of his rule were a testing time, and a time when lesser men, such as those who had to deal with the American War, might easily have lost India

Warren Hastings 1774–85

However, Warren Hastings was only human, and he made mistakes, of which his enemies took advantage He was hampered at every turn by the Council of Four, whom the constitution (under the Regulating Act) obliged him to consult.

Hastings and the Council

[1] See above, pp 612–17

Three of its members, including the vindictive Philip Francis, were his personal enemies, so that he could seldom obtain a majority vote in the Council for his measures At last a crisis arose over the execution of a wealthy Hindu, named Nuncomar, for forgery The Council sympathized with Nuncomar, and Francis believed (and afterwards asserted) that the Hindu had been put out of the way because he was about to expose Hastings' own misdeeds In 1776 one of Hastings' three enemies on the Council died, and the situation became less strained But Hastings and Francis ultimately fought a duel; Francis was severely wounded, and had to return to England, where he did his best to poison every one's mind against the Governor-General

The Maritime War 1778–83

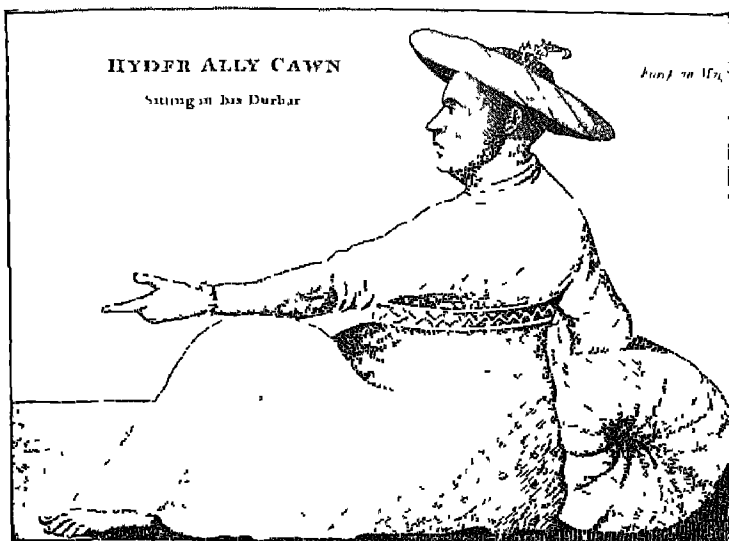
The main crisis of Hastings' rule arose on the outbreak of the Maritime War with France (1778–83)[1] The danger was that the French would give help to those native princes in India who were hostile to the British power Of these princes the most formidable were the chieftains of the famous Mahratta Confederacy, and Hyder Ali, the able and warlike ruler of Mysore The first Mahratta War, which Hastings waged, was of short duration, and the main trouble arose in southern India Hyder Ali was a Mohammedan adventurer who had usurped the throne of Mysore from Hindu rulers In 1780 he invaded the Carnatic, which was under British protection, and threatened Madras itself Hastings, as soon as he heard the news, acted with great vigour he sent Sir Eyre Coote with all the men he could collect to the Carnatic Coote, on the scene of his former triumphs,[2] beat Hyder Ali at Porto Novo, and so saved Madras Meanwhile, the French had entered the conflict Admiral Suffren, with a strong squadron, did his best to cut the British sea communications with India He was opposed by Admiral Sir Edward Hughes This naval struggle, though fought for three years, was indecisive The death of Hyder Ali (1782), and the end of the French War (1783), at last brought peace to India Thanks to Warren Hastings, British India had not gone the way of the American Colonies

First Mysore War 1780–82

Suffren and Hughes

Hastings left India in 1785 On his return home, instead of receiving the public recognition which his great services

[1] See above, p 631.

[2] See above, p 613

INDIA IN THE REIGN OF GEORGE III

Above, a satirical print of 1786, issued during the trial of Warren Hastings, showing him assailed by Burke, North, and Fox *Below*, a contemporary portrait of Hyder Ali

deserved, he had to stand his trial for misgoverning India. The long and protracted trial of Warren Hastings in Westminster Hall, which went on, with various postponements, for seven years (1788–95), formed one of the most famous scenes in English legal history The principal witnesses for the prosecution were Philip Francis and other enemies from India On their side they had the powerful aid of Edmund Burke, who knew nothing about India, but who had formed the opinion that Warren Hastings was a tyrant The old accusation that Hastings had unjustly procured the execution of Nuncomar was renewed, and other specific charges were made [1] Burke thundered with all his eloquence against the accused, he said that the acts complained of were 'the damned and damnable proceedings of a judge in hell, and such a judge was Warren Hastings' In the end Hastings was acquitted, he retired into private life, and lived to the age of 93 False as were most of the accusations made against him, his trial did good in one way Burke's eloquent appeal on behalf of the suffering millions of India, whom he supposed Hastings to have misruled, awoke a sense of responsibility in Britain towards the peoples under our rule This sense of responsibility, coupled with the abolition of slavery, did much to mould the character of the Second British Empire which was built up after Waterloo

Trial of Warren Hastings

Its results

(ii) *Cornwallis and Wellesley*

When Pitt took office (1783), it was generally recognized that further legislation was necessary to amend Lord North's Act, under which Warren Hastings had done his best to govern India Pitt therefore introduced his India Act (1784). By this Act the position of the Governor-General was strengthened, he was made independent of his Council, which became only an advisory body. In London a special Board of Control (the forerunner of the India Office) was set up to deal with Indian affairs, and through it the Government was able to guide Indian policy, with the co operation of the Governor-General The Company was to confine itself to commercial affairs, and had

Pitt's India Act, 1784

[1] See Macaulay's *Essay on Warren Hastings* for full details Macaulay, however, accepts too readily the charges made against the Governor-General

no voice in the appointment of the Governor-General This arrangement lasted till the abolition of the Company in 1858

Pitt's first appointment under the Act was Lord Cornwallis, of Yorktown fame, who became Governor-General for seven years (1786-93) He made what is known as the Permanent Settlement of Bengal He laid down regulations for the administration of justice, and the collection of revenue, which on the whole worked well, and which became the model for future British provinces Cornwallis also embarked on a war with Mysore, now ruled by Tippoo Sultan, the son of Hyder Ali. Tippoo was a no less aggressive person than his father, in 1789 he invaded Travancore, a state which was under the protection of the Madras government But he was defeated by the British forces, and as a result was forced to cede some of the outlying portions of his dominions to the Company.

Lord Cornwallis 1786-93

Second Mysore War

In 1793 Cornwallis left India, and was succeeded by Sir John Shore, whose five years' rule (1793-8) was an uneventful period. After him came the Marquis Wellesley, whose vigorous personality at once stamped itself on Indian affairs Wellesley was more far-sighted than either the East India Company or the British Government He realized that Britain could not rule part of India peacefully without dominating the whole, and he therefore determined to change the British Empire *in* India to the British Empire *of* India It took so long for news to get from Britain to India and back again that Wellesley was able on the whole to pursue his policy without serious interference

Wellesley 1798-1805

Wellesley arrived in India at the time of the French expedition to Egypt, when the success or failure of Bonaparte's schemes still hung in the balance. Tippoo Sultan of Mysore, England's sworn foe, had declared himself in favour of the French Revolution—he was 'Citizen Tippoo', the ally of Napoleon Wellesley soon decided that Tippoo must be crushed before Napoleon could either send aid or—what was not thought unlikely—come himself to India Wellesley began with Hyderabad, a large but unmilitary state sandwiched between warlike neighbours, Mysore and the Mahratta chieftains Wellesley offered the British alliance to the Nizam of Hyderabad—with the alternative of war The Nizam was easily persuaded to abandon the French alliance, to keep an army under

Citizen Tippoo

The Nizam

British officers, and to join with Wellesley against Tippoo and the Mahrattas The alliance with the Nizam was thus made the key-stone of Wellesley's policy in southern India It was the first of these subsidiary alliances by means of which he and his successors entered into a league with half India for the purpose of conquering the other half

The Subsidiary Alliance Policy

Third Mysore War, 1799

The Mysore War, which shortly broke out, did not last long. The campaign was conducted by Sir Arthur Wellesley, the Governor-General's younger brother (afterwards the victor of Waterloo), who easily beat Tippoo's army in the field, and besieged his capital, Seringapatam British cannon battered down the walls, the troops entered the town, and Tippoo was killed in the fight After this the danger from Mysore was over Wellesley annexed the eastern coast-line and other parts, so that Mysore was reduced to half its former size He restored the ancient line of Hindu rajahs, whom Tippoo's father had deposed; and the restored rulers became, like the Nizam, the allies of the Company. Shortly after this, the Carnatic was put definitely under the rule of the Governor of Madras (1801), so that all the south of India came under British control

Conquest of Mysore, and of the Carnatic

Wellesley now turned his attention to northern India, and formed, with the Nawab of Oudh, an alliance similar to that already made with the Nizam. The Nawab also ceded a tract of territory known as the Doab (see map) directly to the Company Soon after this Wellesley came into contact with the Mahrattas, whose chieftains were then engaged in fighting among themselves In 1802, the Peshwa, their nominal head, was defeated in battle by his neighbours, and fled to the British for protection Wellesley thereupon concluded a treaty with him (31 December 1802) and engaged to go to war with his enemies

Treaty with Oudh

Treaty of Bassein 1802

This alliance soon involved Wellesley in a war with Sindhia and Bhonsla, two of the Mahratta chieftains General Wellesley again took the field, and defeated the Mahrattas at the battles of Assaye and Argaum—in the former with odds of ten to one against him After this, Bhonsla submitted, surrendered some territory, and agreed to become a British 'ally' At the same time General Lake attacked Sindhia, whose territories lay next to those of Oudh, and took from him Delhi, the capital city of India After the storming of Delhi, the British took possession

Mahratta War 1803-5

12 INDIA UNDER WELLESLEY

of the person of the Great Mogul, who had long been the prisoner of the Mahrattas, so that the Mogul now exchanged masters One more battle—Laswaree—sufficed to complete the ruin of Sindhia He also submitted, and surrendered a large slice of territory round Delhi The third Mahratta chief, Holkar, who had so far stood aloof from the war, now tried conclusions with the British. He was more successful than his fellow chieftains, and inflicted one severe defeat on the British forces It was this military reverse, together with the cost of the operations, which led to Wellesley's recall The British government had become alarmed at the lengths to which his policy was leading them (1805)

Capture of Delhi, 1803

Holkar

Recall of Wellesley 1805

Wellesley, in his few years of power, had laid the foundations of British India The map shows his work in consolidating the British possessions in the Peninsula—north, east, and south He had struck the first great blow at the Mahratta power, which one of his successors was to complete by the final humiliation of that once-powerful confederacy Henceforth the British were the unquestioned masters of India For good or ill, Wellesley's work was done, his successors had to live up to the position which he had created, and from which there could be no going back Whatever may be thought of Wellesley's somewhat high-handed methods, it must be admitted that his work brought peace to India The *Pax Britannica*, which he inaugurated, depended upon the defeat of the military states, like Mysore, and the absorption of the weak by alliances or direct annexation The success of his policy meant a new empire for Britain in the East, and a new market for British manufactures. It also meant an unwonted peace for India, as well as the gradual introduction of European methods, and all that has followed from that up to the present day

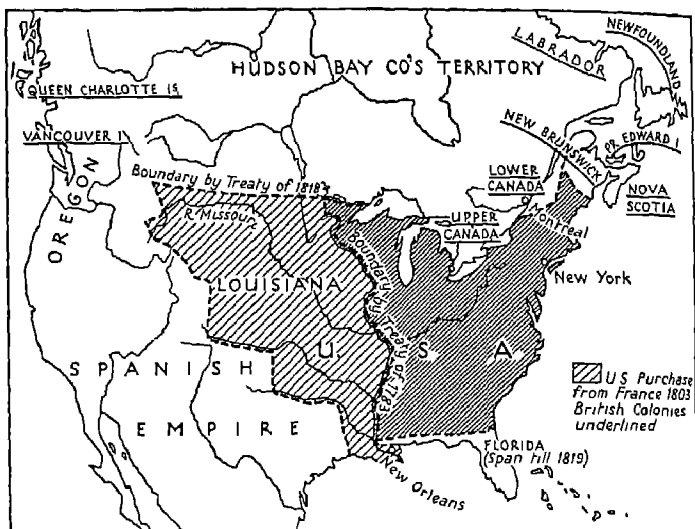
His work

The *Pax Britannica*

2 *Canada*

The present Dominion of Canada has grown out of the small province which Britain conquered from France in 1763 This province consisted of a strip of territory on either side of the St Lawrence, from Lake Ontario to the mouth of the river It contained only about 70,000 colonists, all Frenchmen Two hundred miles east of Canada lay another ex-French colony—

British North America in 1763

Acadie or Nova Scotia, which had been ceded to England at the Peace of Utrecht (1713) Here the population was mixed French and British, the French predominating To the north and west of Canada lay the vast undefined territory of the Hudson's Bay Company, sparsely peopled by hunters and fur traders

NORTH AMERICA AT THE BEGINNING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The problem of dealing with the French-speaking, Catholic inhabitants of Canada was solved by a great British administrator, Sir Guy Carleton, afterwards Lord Dorchester, who twice held office as Governor of Canada Carleton's work was to reconcile the French population to a foreign rule He achieved this by showing respect for both the customs and the religion of the Canadians, and by persuading the British government to pass the Quebec Act (1774), by which freedom of worship was guaranteed to Roman Catholics in Canada.

Sir Guy Carleton

Quebec Act, 1774

The extent of Carleton's success was shown by the fact that the Canadians remained loyal to him during the American War, when he was able successfully to repel the invasion of Canada by

the revolted colonists [1] Immediately after the war a new problem arose About 40,000 former residents of the American Colonies fled from their homes, and took refuge under the British flag They were known as the United Empire Loyalists, and their crime, in the eyes of their fellow countrymen, was that they had declared themselves in favour of the continuance of British rule Now that victory (1783) had crowned the efforts of the revolted colonists, they were not at all disposed to show mercy to the Loyalists, who were hounded out of the United States The victims fled to Nova Scotia, and from there founded the separate province of New Brunswick (see map) Others settled among the French in Canada, but more still penetrated the forests to the north-east of Lake Ontario, and settled a new province—Ontario—between the Great Lakes and the Albany River

United Empire Loyalists

New Brunswick

Ontario

There were now two maritime colonies (Nova Scotia and New Brunswick) and two inland colonies, Ontario and Quebec, known respectively also as Upper Canada and Lower Canada The problem which faced the younger Pitt, as Prime Minister, was to reconcile the varying interests of the French and British in the two Canadas He decided that the demand of the British in Upper Canada for a representative form of government—a free Parliament on the English model—could not be refused But the French Canadians were suspicious of that institution, Parliament, which they described as *un machine anglais pour nous taxer* Nevertheless, Pitt decided to try the experiment of colonial Parliaments in both the Canadas But he did not consider it wise to unite the two provinces under one rule, since he thought that the two races would be certain to quarrel So his Canada Act (1791) provided both Upper and Lower Canada with a Lieutenant-Governor and a Council Each province was also to have an elected Legislative Assembly, which should vote taxes and pass laws subject to the approval of the Lieutenant-Governor and Council [2] By this means the demands of the British in Ontario were satisfied, while the French in Quebec were trained to adapt themselves to a British

The two Canadas

Pitt's Canada Act 1791

[1] See above, p 629

[2] The first step towards responsible government See below, chap XXXIX.

institution This compromise worked well for nearly half a century, during which time the population of Ontario rose from 10,000 to 400,000. Large numbers of British people emigrated to the new lands of the West, which the pioneers were opening in the virgin forest of North America

Just as Anglo-French Canada had remained loyal during the War of American Independence, so the two Canadas stood the shock of the second war, during the conflict with Napoleon, between Britain and the United States This war, which broke out in 1812, was concerned with the old questions arising out of the British naval supremacy By the Orders in Council,[1] Britain had forbidden neutrals, including America, to trade with the French Empire. Britain also claimed the right to search American vessels for deserters from the British Navy The Americans were angry with both France and Britain. But France's diplomacy was better, and the British fleet came into conflict with the U S A vessels more frequently, so the U.S A. declared war on Britain and the conflict thus began lasted two years At first it was waged on or near the Great Lakes. There were one or two American raids into Canada, and skirmishes between flotillas on the Lakes. The first fall of Napoleon in 1814 resulted in the Peninsular veterans being sent out to America, after which our position improved In 1814 the British raided the American capital, Washington, and burnt all the public buildings and the President's house, in revenge for the burning of Toronto, after this unhappy deed they sailed away again Peace was signed between the American and British representatives at Ghent (1814), but the news did not reach America soon enough to prevent a British attack on New Orleans (January 1815) which was repulsed, with great loss, by an American army under Andrew Jackson The peace made no change, and showed the futility of the war, but it is significant that in the Crimean War—the next considerable war of the century—Britain abandoned her excessive claims against neutrals.

The American War of 1812

Peace of Ghent 1814

3 *Australia*

Australia takes its name from the Terra Australis Incognita ('Unknown Land of the South') which the sixteenth-century

[1] See above, p 718

THE BEGINNING OF SETTLEMENT IN AUSTRALIA

An early view of Sydney (about 1800)

Terra Australis Incognita

map-makers regarded as a huge continent in the southern seas. Such a continent as they imagined did not exist, but the voyages of Tasman and other Dutch navigators in the seventeenth century proved the existence of parts of north and west Australia, and of Tasmania It was left to an Englishman of the eighteenth century to make the most important discovery of all.

Captain Cook

Captain James Cook, who had been with Wolfe's expedition up the St. Lawrence to Quebec (1759), was appointed in 1768 to command a scientific expedition to the South Seas. On board were Sir Joseph Banks, a prominent member of the Royal Society, and other scientists Cook sailed first to Tahiti, then made south for New Zealand (already discovered by the Dutch), where he circumnavigated the islands From New Zealand the expedition sailed westward and so came to the hitherto undiscovered eastern coast of Australia. Cook's skilful navigation enabled the ships to sail the whole length of the coast-line, in spite of the perils of the Great Barrier Reef Sir Joseph Banks was much struck by the profuseness of the vegetation in New South Wales, as Cook named the southern part of the country One spot, in particular, Banks named Botany Bay (1770)

Three Pacific Voyages 1768–79

Botany Bay 1770

Cook made two more voyages to the Pacific, and was killed by some natives at Hawaii in 1779 Sir Joseph Banks urged the Government to profit by his New South Wales discovery, and to send out an expedition to colonize the country But Pitt and his Home Secretary, Lord Sydney, did not favour the plantation of new colonies They were impressed, however, by the possibilities of Australia as a convict settlement, now that it was no longer possible to transport felons to the American colonies In January 1788—a week before a French expedition arrived—Captain Arthur Phillip landed in Botany Bay with the first batch of English prisoners for New South Wales.

Foundation of New South Wales, 1788

The new settlement was centred upon Port Jackson, afterwards renamed Sydney (in honour of the Home Secretary), north of Botany Bay The prisoners were guarded by soldiers, and for the first twenty years of its existence the new colony was run on the harsh lines of more than military discipline Phillip sent the worst characters to a new settlement in Norfolk Island in the Pacific, another prisoners' colony was also made

The Settlement

in Tasmania (1804) It must be remembered that, in those iron days, men and women were transported overseas for such a 'crime' as stealing a sheep, for the British felony laws were at that time the harshest in Europe Some of the so-called felons, therefore, were of quite a good type for colonization, though life in the settlements was demoralizing to their character

In addition, a thin but increasing stream of free emigrants reached Australia. The discovery (in 1813) of a pass over the Blue Mountains, leading to the Bathurst Plains beyond, was important for the future development of the colony. The country beyond the mountains proved to be among the finest grasslands in the world, and the introduction of sheep—some from George III's own farm—founded the prosperity of Australia [1] Henceforth the immigration of free colonists largely increased The real history of Australia began with its sheep-farmers and with its intrepid explorers.

Sheep

[1] See below, Chap XXXIX

NATIVES OF THE SANDWICH ISLANDS

DATE SUMMARY. THE REVOLUTIONARY ERA (1783–1815)

WILLIAM PITT—PEACE (1783–93)

BRITAIN	AMERICA, INDIA, AUSTRALIA	EUROPE
1783–1801 Pitt's first Ministry		
1784 Dr Johnson *d*	1784 India Act	
1786 Commercial Treaty with France	1786–93 Cornwallis in India	
	1787 Constitution of U S A	
	1788–95 Trial of Warren Hastings	
	1789–97 Washington, President U S A	
	1788 Foundation of N S. Wales	
		1789 FRENCH REVOLUTION
1790 Burke's *Reflections on Fr Rev*	1790 Nootka Sound	
1791 WESLEY *d*	1791 Canada Act	
1792 United Irishmen Whig split Shelley born		1792 France at war with Austria and Prussia September Massacres ⚔ Valmy

WAR[1]—PITT AND NELSON (1793–1806)

BRITAIN	AMERICA, INDIA, AUSTRALIA	EUROPE
1793 War with France		1793–5 Second and Third Partitions of Poland
1794 Habeas Corpus suspended Gibbon *d*		1793–5 First Coalition
1795 Keats born	1795–6 British take Ceylon and the Cape	1796–7 NAPOLEON in Italy
1796 Burns *d*		
		1797 ⚔ C St Vincent ⚔ Camperdown
1798 Irish Rebellion *Lyrical Ballads*	1798–1805 WELLESLEY in India	1798 ⚔ NILE
1799 Combination Acts	1799 Conquest of Mysore	1799–1800 Second Coalition
1800 ACT OF UNION (BRITAIN AND IRELAND)		
1801 Pitt resigns		
1801–4 Addington Ministry	1803–5 Mahratta War	1802 Treaty of Amiens 1803 War renewed
1804–6 Pitt's second Ministry		1804 Napoleon Emperor 1805 Third Coalition 1805 (Oct) ⚔ TRAFALGAR (Dec) ⚔ AUSTERLITZ
1806 Pitt *d*		

WAR—CANNING, CASTLEREAGH, AND WELLINGTON (1806–15)

BRITAIN	AMERICA, INDIA, AUSTRALIA	EUROPE
1806–7 Ministry of All the Talents	1807 Britain ends SLAVE TRADE	1806 End of Holy Roman Empire
1806 Fox *d*		Berlin Decree
1807–9 Portland Ministry Canning Foreign Sec		1807 Treaty of Tilsit England seizes Danish fleet
1807 Orders in Council		French invade Portugal 1808 Napoleon attacks Spain 1808–14 PENINSULAR WAR
1809–12 Perceval Ministry		
1812–27 LIVERPOOL MINISTRY Castlereagh Foreign Sec (to 1822)	1812–14 Anglo American War	1812 Retreat from Moscow
		1813 German rising against Napoleon
1814 Scott's *Waverley*	1814 Treaty of Ghent	1814 Treaty of Chaumont
		1815 Napoleon's Hundred Days ⚔ WATERLOO TREATY OF VIENNA

[1] For fuller details of the Great French War, see Chart, p 731.

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